The Revival of the Conventual Life in the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century

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By
RALPH W. SOCKMAN, M.A.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

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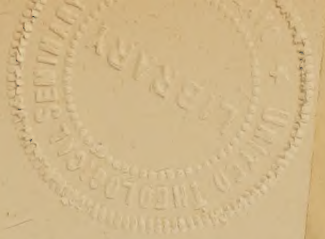

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PREFACE

The field of monastic study has been furrowed so often by research that it would appear to have lost its productivity. While this may be true within the confines of the Roman Catholic Church, the flood of religious enthusiasm in the last century has left a rich deposit of conventual life in the Church of England. The fertility of this new soil is indicated in a statement of which the present Archbishop of Canterbury is one of the authors: "When the time hereafter comes for estimating and comparing the various church movements of this century in England, it is probable that the first place as regards utility and strength will be assigned to the revival of Sisterhood life as an active constituent in the church's work." [1] Since that estimate was made, several monastic communities of men are now established.

It might seem that the story of this revival should be written by an Anglican, perhaps by a member of a monastic community. Although the need of such a history has often been recognized by them, yet it has not been undertaken in any serious or comprehensive way. The present writer has the disadvantage, but also the advantage of distance. While he is deprived of some details that make the account intimate and interesting, he is enabled to study the movement with a perspective that should furnish true proportions. Nearly all the source material to which any reference could be found has been available in the various libraries of New York. Moreover, the main part of this story is devoted, not to the immediate communities now in existence, but to the preparation of England for their rise, a subject which appar-

[1] Davidson and Benham, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, 2 vols. (London, 1891), i, 449.

ently antedates the treatment or the concern of the present monastics.

The attempt to trace this growing interest begins with the suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII; and if it seems to lead too far afield in the opening chapters, the arguments and citations of the actual promoters of the conventual communities in the nineteenth century will show their connection with, and dependence on, the movements of the earlier periods.

In the preparation of this study, the author has been particularly indebted to Professor William Walker Rockwell of Union Theological Seminary for his suggestion of the theme, for his patient, encouraging counsel, and for his keen, kindly criticism throughout. Words are but weak messengers to express the writer's gratitude to the following, also: To Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University for his guidance and inspiration during the years of historical study and for his advice in this specific undertaking; to Professor F. J. Foakes Jackson for the intimate glimpses which he has given into the inner circles of the movements discussed and for the great amount of time he has so generously spent in reading the manuscript; to the Order of the Holy Cross, West Park, New York, for its kindness in admitting the writer to its institution and library; to the librarians of the General Theological Seminary, Columbia University, Union Theological Seminary, and the New York Public Library for their courteous consideration; to Miss Cornelia T. Hudson and Miss Laura S. Turnbull of the Union Theological Seminary staff of librarians for their voluntary assistance, far exceeding the requirements of official courtesy; and finally to Mrs. Ralph W. Sockman, whose encouragement in the preparation of this work and her untiring labor in reading the proof have made the task more pleasant and the story more readable.

CHAPTER I

Seventeenth Century Antecedents of the Monastic Revival

Novelty has little charm for a Churchman. He demands that projected reforms bear the stamp of authority imprinted by the past. Hence the nineteenth century advocates of monasticism in the Church of England knew that they must invoke the sanction of that authority. The church of the first centuries was studied to prove the harmony of the conventual life with Catholic Christianity; but the practical Englishman had also to be shown that these institutions were feasible in his own land, even since the days of Henry VIII. Could this be shown?

The very Act which suppressed the lesser monasteries paid tribute to the greater. In its preamble it directed that the members of the smaller institutions be distributed among the "great and honorable monasteries of the realm, where, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and preserved." [1] These words must not be taken too seriously, but they do have a significance. Granted that they were intended to cajole Henry's future victims, they indicate also a popular sentiment in many quarters against the total abolition of the monasteries. Even Latimer desired to retain some of their practical features. "He entreated that two or three in every shire should be continued, not in monkery, but as establishments for learned

[1] *27 Henry VIII*, c. 28, *Statutes of the Realm*, iii, 575.

men and such as would go about preaching and giving religious instruction to the people, and for the sake of hospitality." [1] In the cases of some of the greater monasteries, the neighborhoods petitioned that they might be spared, and the Visitors themselves represented them as beneficial.[2] The Pilgrimage of Grace incorporated among other grievances a plea for a restoration of the monasteries.[3]

How effective the partition of the property of the abbeys proved in silencing the demand for the restoration of the religious houses is shown in the reaction under Mary. When this queen desired to restore the papal supremacy, Parliament made the confirmation of the titles of the occupants of monastic estates part of the Act.[4] Mary, however, succeeded in restoring a number of convents and monastic orders.[5]

At first Elizabeth did not molest these monastic establishments, even summoning Prior Tresham and Abbot Feckenham to take their seats in her first parliament. "But they had hardly sat down on their seats before they were raised up and dissolved, with all the rest of the late-restored Orders." [6] The thoroughness with which Elizabeth sup-

[1] Southey, *Book of the Church*, 2nd ed. (London, 1825), ii, 68. *Cf.* Twysden, *Monastic Life* (1645), p. 31, quoted in *British Critic*, Oct., 1842, p. 364.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 68; *cf.* a letter of George Gifford, an investigator, quoted in *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxv, 770.

[3] Patterson, *A History of the Church of England* (London, 1909), p. 232.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 270; *cf.* Fuller, *The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Christ until the Year* 1648 (1837 ed.), ii, 279. For *Act* 1 and 2, *Phil. and Mary*, c. 8, *vide* appendix i.

[5] For locations *vide* Fuller, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-9.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 281; *cf.* Fosbrooke, *British Monachism, or Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England* (London, 1802), 2nd ed. (1817), p. 398.

pressed monasticism is shown by the condition of the English Benedictines. After Feckenham's death only one monk of this Order was left in England.[1]

Little noticeable defence of the conventual institutions was made during Elizabeth's reign. No doubt the revenues they received from the monastic lands continued to silence a great number of the landed classes. But a late friend of monasteries explains the silence of the sixteenth century as due to a most naturally one-sided reaction from the practical corruptions of the Roman Church.[2] The hostility was due to political and practical conditions and not to any fundamental disagreement with the principles of the institutions[3] The silence of English divines during Elizabeth's reign does not necessarily mean that there was no sentiment favorable to monasteries. Usually it is the higher clergy that have their opinions printed; and they are often among the last to speak, especially when moneyed interests are threatened. Historians, however, usually speak with greater freedom. The words of one throw a little light on a cross-section of English monastic opinion. William Camden, in the preface to his *Britannia,* says: "There are some, I hear, who take it ill that I have mentioned monasteries and their founders. . . . Perhaps they would have it forgotten that our ancestors were, and we are, Christians, since there were never more certain indications and glorious monuments of Christian piety and devotion to God than these." [4] A similar attitude was taken by William Lambarde, another antiquary, writing

[1] Reynerius, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia* (Duaci, 1626), p. 242.

[2] *British Critic,* Oct., 1842, pp. 310-211.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 312.

[4] Camden, *Britannia* (1856). Quoted in Anglo-Catholicus, *The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems* (London, 1843), p. 15.

in 1576,[1] and by Sampson Erdeswicke in 1593.[2] Other writers might probably be cited, but they would prove little. There was no propaganda to restore monastic institutions in the reign of Elizabeth. Antiquaries might praise them in safety of the past, but it was left to the seventeenth century to attempt their revival in the Anglican Church.

The court atmosphere in the early part of the century was not hostile to institutions because they bore the marks of Roman Catholicism. In fact just the opposite was true. James I was suspected of Romanist tendencies. It was known that his wife was secretly a Roman Catholic.[3] Charles I, also, with his High Church Archbishop Laud and his Roman Catholic queen, was friendly to the monastic idea. Fosbrooke says that a convent of Capuchins was set up at Somerset House according to the marriage articles of Queen Henrietta Maria in 1625.[4] In such an environment the idea of monastic institutions in the Anglican Church could easily grow. Its advocates in the nineteenth century very appropriately, therefore, bestow their praise upon these two monarchs.

Throughout the seventeenth century this sentiment in favor of monasticism found expression in the writings of antiquaries and church leaders. Moreover, actual attempts to revive the conventual life were made. To dissect all the causes of this interest is impossible in a brief introductory chapter, and, furthermore, the important consideration in this thesis is not the cause, but the existence, of

[1] Lambarde (1536-1601). *Perambulation of Kent; containing the Description, Hystorie and Customs of that Shire* (London, 1576), cited in Spelman, *History and Fate of Sacrilege*, 4th ed. (1895), Introd., p. xii.

[2] Erdeswicke (d. 1603), *Survey of Staffordshire* (1593-1603), ed. Hardwood (1844), cited in Spelman, *op. cit.*

[3] Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

[4] Fosbrooke, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

such a sentiment. To record a few instances, therefore, is sufficient.

I. THE ATTITUDE OF THE ANTIQUARIES

Chronologically the antiquaries must be mentioned first. In 1613 Sir Henry Spelman wrote his book, *De non temerandis Ecclesiis,* in which he denounced the spoliation of the monasteries. Spelman was himself an owner of abbey lands. The purchase of these lands occasioned a long court action in which he was a loser.[1] Perhaps this may have colored his view. At any rate his interest is practical and social. He praises the hospitality, charity and learning of the monks, and places in dark contrast the conditions under the new Poor Law. The popularity of this book is shown by its having reached its sixth edition in 1704.[2]

Sir Roger Twysden, antiquary and historian, was a Cavalier, standing close to the King. His opinion, therefore, has an added significance.

> Some there are either so averse from the calling or so in love with the possessions religious people were endowed with, as they held an opinion that there should have been no reformation, but an absolute extirpation of them. In which yet Latimer, a glorious martyr, did not concur, who would have had two or three saved in every shire. . . . To speak seriously and without passion, what can the ill be [without other consequences] to have places set apart, whither men, either by nature, time or otherwise unfit for the world, may retire themselves in religious company, may think on heaven and good learning?" [3]

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[2] Similar view was expressed by him in *The History and Fate of Sacrilege,* written 1632 (London, Holborn, 1698), 4th ed., 1895. Its popularity is well known.

[3] Twysden, *Monastic Life* (c. 1645), quoted in *British Critic,* Oct., 1842, p. 364.

Thus the historical tone of Twysden the antiquary is tinged with the hortatory zeal of Twysden the man of affairs. Moreover, the religious interest plainly joins itself to the social in his expression.

Similar in social position and in monastic ideas was Sir William Dugdale, a follower of Charles I in the Civil War. He was the chief author of that monumental work *Monasticon Anglicanum.*[1] The list of other seventeenth century historians and antiquaries who voiced opinions favorable to monasticism is a long one, and includes:

(1) William Somner (1598-1609), a friend of Charles I, Laud, Dugdale, Fuller, *et. al.* He contributed to Dugdale and Dodsworth's *Monasticon Anglicanum* materials in regard to Canterbury and the religious houses of Kent. He also wrote *The Antiquaries of Canterbury* (1640).

(2) Robert Plot (1640-1696), author of *A Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677), and *A Natural History of Staffordshire* (1688). Plot was a Royalist.

(3) John Prince (1643-1723), author of *Worthies of Devon* (1701).

(4) Sir Robert Atkyns (1647-1711), *Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire* (1712).

(5) Sir Simon Degge (1612-1704), *Observations upon the Possessors of Monastery Lands in Staffordshire;* published with Erdeswicke, *Survey of Staffordshire* (1717 ed.).

(6) Browne Willis (1682-1760), *History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbeys and Conventual Cathedral Churches,* 2 vols. (1718-1719).

(7) John Stevens (d. 1726), who published a continuation of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* in 2 vols. entitled

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655); new ed., 6 vols. (London, 1817-1830).

The History of Ancient Abbeys, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedrals, etc. (1722).[1]

The significance of these historical writings must not be overestimated. They are entered here merely to show that many men of letters recognized the value of institutions now ruined. How widespread this feeling was cannot be definitely stated. The very focussing of the attention on this subject and the popularity of some of these books are an indication of the general interest. There are, too, some reflections of the social interests of their own times, as in Spelman. Furthermore the nineteenth century advocates of monasteries regarded these writers as factors in the three hundred year revival, as is evident from their frequent citation.[2] The writings of a few historians, however, do not in themselves prove the seventeenth century ready to revive monastic institutions, for the pride of the historian is that he stands aloof from the popular opinions of his own time.

II. THE CLERICAL WRITERS AND THE MONASTIC INTEREST

The clergy, however, are less independent of their environment than are the historians. When the clergy attempted to write of the convents they may not have given so exact an account of the sixteenth century conditions as did the antiquaries, but they do give a better glimpse of the popular opinion of their own times. In an account of the monastic revival the clerical writers are, therefore, more interesting and more important.

John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh, essayed to give

[1] For antiquaries of 17th century, *cf. The Cambridge History of English Literature,* ix, ch. xiii.

[2] *History and Fate of Sacrilege,* 1846 ed., reproduced in 4th ed. 1895; *cf.* Anglo-Catholicus, *Monastic and Manufacturing Systems* (London, 1843), *passim.*

what he "conceived to be the judgment of moderate English Protestants concerning the suppression of monasteries." [1] It was, first, that "covetousness had a great oar in the boat"; second, that "foundations, which were good in their original institutions, ought not to be destroyed for accessory abuses"; third, that it is lawful to restrain and to prune, but "to pluck up good institutions root and branch, is not reformation which we profess, but destruction." [2] Being an active ecclesiastical statesman, he goes on to give his opinion in regard to their revival. If monasteries were moderated in their number and revenues, if they were made more practical and less contemplative, if the vow of perpetual celibacy were reduced to the temporary form of the English universities or the Beguines across the sea, if the blind obedience demanded of monks were somewhat enlightened, if their "mock poverty" were changed to a competent maintenance, he did "not see why monasteries might not agree well enough with reformed devotion." [3]

Herbert Thorndike, sometime Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, was a theologian frequently quoted by later High Churchmen. He declared very distinctly that monasticism, while not "essential to the constitution of the Church of England," was nevertheless "advantageous for the maintenance of that retirement from the world in the reasons of our actions, wherein our common Christianity consisteth." [4] No member of the Church of England "need disown the whole Church in maintaining monastical life as agreeable with Christianity

[1] Bramhall, *A Just Vindication of the Church of England* (c. 1653) in *Works of Archbishop Bramhall* (1674), i, pt. i, p. 118 (Oxford, 1842).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

[4] Thorndike, *Theological Works* (London, 1659), iv, pt. ii, bk. iii, p. 815, in *Anglo-Catholic Library of Theology* (Oxford, 1853).

and expedient to the intent of it." [1] While Thorndike recognized the practical corruptions of the monks, he felt that the monastic orders gave opportunity for a higher life than the secular state.[2]

About this time Thomas Fuller in his *Church History* discourses on the practical value of the monasteries. Their instruction and their charity especially catch his eye. He pays a tribute to nunneries and believes their return would be welcomed; [3] but Fuller seems to think that by the middle of the seventeenth century the popular interest in monasteries was waning. In the light of his own views the touch of sarcasm about the greed of the land-holders is apparent.[4]

The pro-monastic sentiment was revived after the Restoration. Peter Heylin, the disciple of Laud, paid a tribute to the charity of the monks.[5] Archbishop Leighton of Glasgow thought it was the great and fatal error of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 815.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 818.

[3] "Nunneries also were good she schools, wherein the girls and maids of the neighborhood were taught to read and work; and sometimes a little Latin was taught them therein. Yea, give me leave to say, if such genuine foundations had still continued, provided no vows were obtruded upon them (virginity is least kept where it is most restrained), haply the weaker sex (beside the avoiding modern inconvenience) might be heightened to a higher perfection than hitherto hath been attained. I say, if such feminine foundations were extant now of days, haply some virgins of highest birth would be glad of such places, and, I am sure, their fathers and elder brothers would not be sorry for the same." (Fuller, *The Church History of Britain,* ii, 190.)

[4] "It is high time for me to put a period to this subject; . . . the rather because this old and trite subject is now grown out of fashion, men in our own age having got a new object to fix their eyes thereon—taking notice how such church lands do thrive, which since hath been derived into the hands of new possessors." *Ibid.*, bk. vi, p. 297 (1837 ed.).

[5] B—, S. H., *The Monastic Houses of England; their accusers and defenders* (London, 1869), p. 3.

the Reformation that the religious houses had not been reformed rather than destroyed. They were needed as places of retreat, education and mortification.[1]

Thomas Tanner, later Bishop of St. Asaph, wrote his *Notitia Monastica* in order "to preserve some remembrance of these structures, once the glory of our English nation." [2] He admits that the popular feeling is hostile to the monasteries. "I am not ignorant that the generality of people, ever since the dissolution, have, through a mistaken zeal and false prejudice, thought that the very memory of those great men, who erected these places, ought to be buried in the rubbish of those structures that they designed." [3] Evidence of some desire for nunneries is found also in a sermon of Bishop Rainbow of Carlisle in 1676, who himself was opposed to the idea. "I have indeed found some men and women eminent in zeal, wholly devoted to the Church of England, who thought it would be of great advantage, religious and politic, if some kind of protestant nunneries were allowed and instituted among us; for which some have projected models and rules very considerable, and some have well considered them." [4]

What conclusions can be drawn from the above citations? To some they may seem to admit of no generalisation. However, if to these were added the favorable opinions of Laud, Montague, Jeremy Taylor, Andrewes, and others

[1] Burnet (1643-1715), *History of His Own Time* (6 vols.), (Oxford, 1833), i. 39, quoted in Anglo-Catholicus, *Monastic and Manufacturing Systems*, p. 18.

[2] Tanner, *Notitia Monastica; or A Short History of the Religious Houses in England and Wales* (1695); preface quoted in Anglo-Catholicus, *op. cit.*, p. 15; *cf.* B—, S. H., *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, Preface.

[4] A sermon preached at Appleby, Apr. 14, 1676, by the Rt. Rev. Edw. Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, quoted in the *Church of England Magazine*, xv, 334 (1843).

on celibacy, and of Montague on monastic poverty,[1] it would seem safe to say that the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the seventeenth century was permeated with monastic ideas.

But what connection have the opinions of a few seventeenth century divines with a nineteenth century movement? The answer is found in the various pro-monastic pamphlets and articles of the 1830's and 40's. Again and again these churchmen are cited along with the antiquaries mentioned above. In the eyes of the Tractarians, these were the standard theologians of the Anglican Church.[2] In seeking to revive the monastic institutions of the early church, the Tractarians were wise in citing the seventeenth century writers. The average Englishman might not be much attracted by the ideas of the celibates and monks who lived before the days of the Roman hierarchy, but he could both understand and admire the things which were felt to be possible in his own England after she had thrown off the Roman yoke. If the nineteenth century was the age of actual monastic revival, the seventeenth was the time of theoretical preparation.[3]

[1] *Cf. British Critic,* Oct., 1842.

[2] The *British Critic,* the recognized organ of the Tractarians, Oct., 1842, p. 301, says that the doctrines of the Oxford divines have been met with, "Why sound a retreat from the nineteenth to the seventeenth century?" But that charge is no longer formidable since "the first and most influential periodical of the day" has pronounced that the theology of the seventeenth century divines "'is the standard theology of the English Church.'. . . Few will be found, we imagine, so hardy as to dispute the fact."

[3] Note the new editions of the above works in the early nineteenth century:

Camden, *Brittania,* 1806;

Lombarde, *Perambulation of Kent,* 1826 (reprint of 2d ed.);

Fosbrooke, *British Monachism,* 1817 and 1843;

Spelman, *De non temerandis,* 1841;

Prince, *Worthies of Devon,* 1810;

III. ATTEMPTS TO REVIVE THE CONVENTUAL LIFE

More interesting than theories were the actual attempts to revive conventual establishments. Space and available information permit only a brief sketch.

The first and most important attempt was that of Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding, near Huntingdon. Ferrar had been a prominent man of business and had become a member of Parliament in 1624. But a year later he, with his mother, her children and grandchildren, retired to their country estate at Little Gidding and set up an establishment which had many conventual elements.[1]

Their daily routine of hours, services, and work was similar to that of a monastic house. They observed all the fasts and festivals of the Church of England. The required black habit of the women was another mark of the conventual life.[2] The question of celibate vows in

Bramhall, *Works,* 1842;
Thorndike, *Works,* 1852;
Heylin, *History of the Reformation,* 1849;
Leighton, *Rules and Instructions for a Holy Life,* 1825-31.

[1] Macdonough, *Brief Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar, M.A., Founder of a Protestant Religious Establishment; chiefly collected from a narrative by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Turner, formerly Lord Bishop of Ely* (London, 1829), 2d ed. 1837, reviewed in *British Critic,* Oct., 1839, p. 440, *et seq.* Other lives of Ferrar consulted were: Peckard, *Life of Ferrar; abridged from the Memoirs* (1790) (London, 1852);

Ferrar, John, *Nicholas Ferrar; Two Lives, by his Brother John, and by Dr. Jebb. . . . Now first edited by J. E. B. Mayor* (Cambridge, 1855);

Carter, T. T. (ed.); *Nicholas Ferrar: His Household and His Friends* (London, 1892);

(Ferrar, Nicholas), *The Story Books of Little Gidding; being the religious dialogues recited in the Great Room, 1631-2; from the original mss.* (New York, 1899);

Skipton, H. P. K., *Life and Times of Nicholas Ferrar* (London, 1907). The dates and authors show Ferrar's connection with the nineteenth century revival.

[2] *British Critic,* xxvi, 449 (1839).

Ferrar's community has often been discussed and is important in determining the status of the establishment. Ferrar himself had refused the hand of an heiress and had "declared that he was resolved not to marry at all, if God gave him the grace to continue as he was." [1] At the age of thirty-four, when he was ordained deacon, Ferrar declared that he was "resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, in devotion and charity." [2] As to the other members of the institution, Carter thus quotes from Edward Lenton's Letters: [3]

That Mary and Anna Collett considered themselves absolutely pledged to a single life there can be no doubt. One of their sisters speaks of the "virgin estate, whereof our chief hath made profession," and Nicholas Ferrar in 1634 in answer to an enquiry about the "nuns" of Gidding, replied that "two of his nieces had lived, one thirty and the other thirty-two years, virgins; and so resolved to continue as he hoped they would, the better to give themselves to fasting and prayer, but had made no vows." [4]

The author of Carter's work thinks their resolutions were in actuality tantamount to vows.

At any rate, the establishment had sufficient monastic flavor to be the object of a tract, called *The Arminian Nunnery,* or *a Brief Description and Relation of the late erected Monasticall Place called the Arminian Nunnery at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, humbly recommended to the wise consideration of this present Parliament. The Foundation is by a Co. of Ferrars at Gidding.* (Printed for Thos. Underhill, London, 1641).[5]

[1] Mayor, *op. cit.,* p. 110.

[2] Peckard, *op. cit.,* p. 105; *cf.* Anon., *Life of Ferrar* (Phila., 1833), p. 55.

[3] Lenton was a visitor at Ferrar's community.

[4] *Life of N. Ferrar,* ed. by T. T. Carter, pp. 143-4.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 291.

The place was attacked and destroyed by the anti-Royalist soldiers in 1646; but while it existed many church leaders were loud in its praise. Among Ferrar's friends and admirers were Charles I, Archbishop Laud, Dr. Lindsell, later Bishop of Peterborough, Bishop Williams of Lincoln, and Cosin, later Bishop of Durham; while Bishop Turner of Ely was his Boswellian biographer.[1] From a life of such character and popularity it is not strange that the Tractarian lovers of monasteries exultingly concluded: "Thus we have Ferrar's own view pretty clearly marked as to the celibate, and the accordance of societies of a monastic character with the genius of our Church." [2]

After the Restoration several proposals were made for female establishments. In 1671 a scheme for a protestant woman's college under the instruction of a "lady governess and grave society of widows and virgins, who have resolved to lead the rest of their lives in a single, retired, religious way according to the pattern of some protestant colleges in Germany." [3] That there were similar schemes discussed about this time seems apparent from Bishop Rainbow's sermon.[4] However, there seems to be no record of actual beginnings.

The two chief needs to be met by these schemes were the education of young ladies and the retirement of older ones. In 1694 Mary Astell wrote *A Serious Proposal to Ladies, for the advancement of their true and greatest Interest, by a lover of her sex.* She proposed a sort of "Protestant Nunnery," or "lest the word nunnery should frighten people, a Christian Retirement should be formed

[1] *British Critic,* xxvi, 452 (Oct., 1839).

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 451.

[3] *Quarterly Review,* xxii, 94-95 (1819). Programme was printed anonymously in a quarto pamphlet of ten pages by Thomas Newcomb in the *Savoy,* 1671.

[4] *Cf. supra,* p. 16.

to which ladies who nauseated the world might retire" to improve their minds and cultivate their spiritual life.[1] This proposal was almost as popular at first as if it had been made to these same ladies by a man. A prominent lady, supposed by some to be the Princess of Denmark, afterwards Queen Anne, and by others to be Lady E. Hastings, promised to give £10,000. But "because the plan assimilated conventual institutions, Bishop Burnet and Swift succeeded in robbing posterity of much probable benefit." [2]

About this same time one Susanna Hopton [3] lost her husband. She had been converted to Roman Catholicism but had returned to the Church of England through a reading of Laud, Morton, and Chillingworth especially. After her husband's death in 1696 she lived a sort of Religious Life at Kington.[4] Her example seems to have aroused little interest.

Lady Masham, daughter of the famous Puritan Ralph Cudworth, meditated a plan similar to Mary Astell's, with more emphasis on the purely educational values.[5] In 1705 she published *Occasional Thoughts in Reference to a Virtuous and Christian Life.*[6] Her social position and her friendship with the philosopher Locke brought her proposal into some prominence.

Sir George Wheler, Royalist, traveler, antiquary and clergyman, was a spirit in sympathy with Nicholas Ferrar.[7]

[1] Overton, *Life in the English Church, 1660-1714* (London, 1885), pp. 148-149.

[2] Fosbrooke, *British Monachism,* p. 399.

[3] *Church Quarterly Review,* Jan., 1893, p. 471.

[4] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[5] Fosbrooke, *op. cit.,* p. 399.

[6] Overton, *Life in the English Church,* p. 149.

[7] *Pax,* June, 1908, p. 523, reviewing Skipton, *The Life and Times of N. Ferrar.*

In 1698 he published *The Protestant Monastery; or Christian Economics, containing Directions for the Religious Conduct of a Family.* (London, 1698.) Edward Stephens printed, about 1696-7, *A Letter to a Lady,* which contains with it *The More Excellent Way; or a Proposal of a compleat Work of Charity.* The proposal was to found a religious house for men and another for women. The *Proposal* says that "a Religious Society of Single Women" had begun.[1]

A semi-monastic establishment with the characteristic educational and charitable features was set up at King's Cliffe, 1743-4 by William Law.[2] A friend of Law's, Archibald Hutcheson, M.P., died in 1740. He desired his widow to live a retired and religious life under Law's guidance. Mrs. Hutcheson was joined by a Miss Hester Gibbon (the historian's aunt). They proposed to live out the precepts of Law's *Serious Call.* A girl's school, a boy's school and almshouses gave an outlet for their charitable work.[3] The life was very much like that of the Ferrars at Little Gidding. "The same ascetic practices, the same attention to the wants of the poor, the same care for the education of the young, the same partiality for the mystic writers, and, we may add, the same naturally domineering spirit subdued by grace, are conspicuous in both." [4]

From these scattered attempts Brother Denys, a member of the recently restored Order of S. Benedict at Caldey Island, concluded that the mind of the English Church had been throughout the period "toward the Religious or

[1] Ollard, in *Dictionary of English Church History,* ed. S. L. Ollard, 1912, p. 499.

[2] *Church Quarterly Review,* Jan., 1893, p. 471.

[3] *Dictionary of National Biography, cf.* Overton, *William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic* (London, 1881), pp. 228-232 for regulations.

[4] *Church Quarterly Review,* Jan., 1893, p. 471.

Monastic Life." [1] Such a broad generalisation is probably not justified. The above proposals and attempts were quite different from the monasteries before the Reformation. In some cases they were hardly more than Retreats; and in themselves they are of little social importance. Nevertheless, they gave the nineteenth century agitators some valuable precedents, for these had been born in their own England under the sanction of their own Anglican Church. As such they deserve a place in an account of the monastic revival of the nineteenth century.

With the exception of William Law's House at King's Cliffe and the suggestions of a few prominent men,[2] the eighteenth century reveals little interest in a monastic revival. This is not surprising to any student of church history. "No such attempt was to be expected in the eighteenth century, for that was a time of great spiritual weakness, and even deadness, throughout Western Europe; and in England in particular, the Church was systematically being repressed and weakened by the State." [3] Anything resembling religious enthusiasm was ridiculed by the church authorities. There was little sympathy for the Laudian conception of the historic church. Social and industrial conditions turned the popular interest from the meditative

[1] Brother Denys, Oblate, O. S. B., in *Pax*, June, 1911, p. 291.

[2] In 1737 Sir William Cunninghame of Prestonfield, Edinburgh, approached Archdeacon Thomas Sharp with a proposal for "a nunnery of Protestant religious and virtuous persons, well born, of the female sex, conforming themselves to the Church of England." There were to be a prioress and sub-prioress, but no vows. The archdeacon opposed the plan. *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, ii, app. iii, 281-302, quoted by Ollard, in *Dictionary of English Church History*, p. 500.

Richardson, in *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753), wishes there could be a Protestant nunnery in every shire.

John Wesley records (*Life of Fletcher of Madeley*, 1786) that when he was young he was greatly impressed with an account of Nicholas Ferrar. Ollard, *loc. cit.*

[3] Frere, *English Church Ways* (Milwaukee, 1914), p. 79.

past to the active present. For these and other reasons the monastic idea steadily waned.

A proof of its unpopularity is seen in the Act of 1791 [1] to relieve the papists from certain penalties and disabilities. No toleration, however, was granted to persons "bound by monastick or religious vows." [2] The seventeenth century denounced Roman Catholicism but accepted the monastic idea; the eighteenth century denounced the monks but became more tolerant of the Romanists.[3]

Thus, though by 1539 the monasteries were dissolved, the conventual ideal of life remained.[4] Dormant during Elizabeth's reign, it revived during the seventeenth century in the writings of antiquaries, the opinions of divines and the actual attempts of enthusiasts. But in the religious chill and social activity of the eighteenth century, even the idea perished. In 1791 the English soil seemed less favorable to monasteries than at any time since their destruction.

[1] *31 George III, c. 32, Statutes at Large,* vol. 37.

[2] Par. 17, "Provided also and be it further enacted That nothing in this Act contained shall make it lawful to found, endow or establish any religious order or society of persons bound by monastick or religious vows."

[3] The Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking in favor of this bill in the House of Lords, said "that excepting a few bigots who were chained by monkish persuasion, the Roman Catholic religion was rising into a generous freedom of religious ideas that did honor to Christianity" Cobbett, *Parliamentary History of England* (London, 1812-20), xxix, 668). No other mention of this clause was recorded in the debates. No voice was raised to defend the monasteries of the Roman Church; and no suggestion was made of their possibility in the Anglican Communion.

[4] *Cf.* Brother Denys O. S. B., in *Pax,* June, 1911, p. 291.

CHAPTER II

French Pioneers on English Soil

An institution like that of monasticism is the result of growth and development. Hence, before showing how the monastic ideal, which had been practically extinguished in England by the close of the eighteenth century, revived in a materialistic age during the Oxford Movement, it is desirable to indicate how the French *emigrés* of the Revolution familiarised the people with the monastic establishments, which they were allowed to set up in different parts of the country.

In 1789 and 1790 a considerable number of Roman Catholics had come to England as voluntary exiles from France.[1] In May, 1791, Edmund Burke, speaking in the House of Commons on the Quebec Government Bill, expressed warm sympathy for the persecuted Catholics of France, especially the Lazarist Nuns.[2] This seemed to be a signal of welcome. By the middle of 1793 there were about 4000 exiled French ecclesiastics in Great Britain.[3] The English government gave them the royal palace at Winchester, where 300 and eventually 700 priests organized themselves on the basis of a religious community, choosing M. Martin as superior.[4] "Their regularity and

[1] Ward, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, 2 vols. (London, 1909), ii, 2.

[2] *Annual Register*, 1791, xxxiii, p. 133.

[3] Lubersac, *Journal historique et religieux de l'emigration et deportation du clergé de France en Angleterre* (Londres, 1802), p. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

good order surprised all who visited them." [1] These exiles were welcomed and generously supported, not only by the government, but also by the best classes of England, including even the Protestant clergy.[2]

In spite of the generous financial support, these French priests did not live in idleness. They offered their services as private tutors in distinguished families, as French masters in schools, and as missionary priests in the Roman Catholic chapels throughout England.[3] This widespread and diversified activity could not fail to attract the attention and often the admiration of the English people.[4] "It was not, however, their zealous labors in teaching the poor and visiting the sick, which affected favorably Protestant opinion in regard to Catholicism. But that which left an abiding impression in England, and contributed silently and indirectly to the Catholic revival, was the patience in poverty, dignity in bearing misfortune, exemplary conduct and holy living displayed by these victims of the French Revolution." [5]

Sympathy, admiration and the fear of Jacobinism were all paving the way for the Catholic priest in England. And a reception for the French clergy prepared in a general sense the road for Roman institutions. But the specific question of monasteries was soon brought to the fore. The monastics were undoubtedly the least welcome of the

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine,* June, 1803, p. 537.

[2] On Sept. 20, 1792, John Wilmot called a meeting to consider the relief of these *emigrés.* Those present included the Marquis of Buckingham, William Pitt, Edmund Burke, Sir Philip Metcalfe, M.P., William Wilberforce, three other members of Parliament, three Protestant clergymen, and two Catholic laymen. Ward, *op. cit.,* p. 19.

[3] Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Philips de Lisle* (London, 1900) i, 167.

[4] *Gentleman's Magazine,* June, 1803, p. 537. *Cf. Anti-Jacobin Review* (London, 18003, iv, 142.

[5] Purcell, *op. cit.,* p. 167.

exiles. The Act of 1791 clearly revealed the English antipathy to them.[1] Only a slight objection was raised, however, when in October, 1792, the first community, one of Benedictine Nuns, was established in London. In fact these nuns were merely passing through London on their way to Brussels and decided to remain only at the invitation of the Prince of Wales, Mrs. Fitzherbert (herself a Roman Catholic), and others.[2] The Mayor of Thetford objected to their removing to Norfolk, lest the appearance of the nuns might cause trouble among the people. But Bishop John Douglass, vicar-apostolic of the London district, writes that he easily silenced the opposition. He adds, "All the families, Protestant as well as Catholic, around Bodney in Norfolk are remarkably fond of them." [3] There were thirty-six nuns in this community, which never returned to France. An English lady could now see a convent thriving on English soil at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

One of the first monastic foundations to be established formally in England was the Monastery of La Trappe at Lulworth in Dorsetshire. In 1794 Mr. Thomas Weld furnished the ground and built the house for these Trappists. At first they did not flaunt their monastic garb before the public, but outside of the walls they dressed as day laborers and carters.[4] This precaution seems not to have been necessary very long, for in 1800 they were receiving visitors, and through the medium of a loquacious brother porter were communicating much knowledge of their mode of life.[5] These monks maintained eighty orphan children

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 24.

[2] *Ward, op. cit.*, ii, 32, quoting from Bishop John Douglass's diary.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[4] Weld, Letter to Bishop Walmesley, Nov. 4, 1794, in Ward, *op. cit.*, ii, 35.

[5] Fosbrooke, *British Monachism*, p. 404.

of the murdered French nobility.[1] In 1800 there were eighty-six monks in the institution.[2]

Other establishments of monks and nuns were founded during the French Revolution.[3] Some returned to France after the Napoleonic Wars, and some still remain. The question of importance here, however, is not the fact of their establishment, but the attitude of the English toward them. Did the coming of the Roman monasteries increase the prejudice against the monastic idea or lessen it? On national attitudes it is not safe to generalise. Contemporary periodical literature of that day reveals no widespread or intense interest in these reëstablished convents. A few references, however, are rather enlightening and significant.

In 1791 the Rev. George Henry Glasse, Rector of Hanwell, delivered a sermon in which he discussed very specifically the exiled monks.[4] He recognizes the preponderating evil of the monastic orders and the popular hostility to them. Nevertheless there are many of exemplary virtue who add lustre to the contemplative life. He sees the value of the zeal, the austerity, the studies, the charity of the monks. They "are accused of no public crime, and hold no principle dangerous to the state." Hence to drive them from England would be a "cruelty so refined, injustice so complicated, tyranny so execrable, that it is impossible to find language in which to proclaim our pity for the oppressed—our abhorrence and detestation of their oppressors." This sermon shows that hatred of the revolu-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 402.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 407. But Petre in *Notices of the English Colleges and Convents* (Norwich, 1849), pp. 31-40, says that by 1817 they had grown from five to fifty-nine. They returned to France in 1817.

[3] For the lists *vide* Petre, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-62, and Fosbrooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-412.

[4] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Aug., 1793, p. 731, *vide* appendix, ii.

tionists of France had overcome his natural antipathy to Roman institutions, even the monastic orders. This attitude was typical of many clergy.[1]

Once established the monasteries received favorable comment from many sides. Thomas Weld wrote of the Trappists at Lulworth in 1794: "Nobody molests or disturbs them, everybody is edified by them, even Protestants and Methodists come under the wall to hear them sing." [2] Some discount should perhaps be made from this statement of an enthusiastic fellow Romanist, but it is not inconsistent with the opinion of Fosbrooke, the sworn enemy of monasteries. "These Lulworth monks," Fosbrooke says, "though of course mere automata, are humble, inoffensive and moral. Superstition, compatible with all religion and even infidel principles, does not necessarily include vice; and these noble-minded asceticks maintained eighty orphan children of the murdered French Noblesse, and refused an asylum from the Emperor of Russia, because they would not rob a legitimate proprietor of his estate." [3]

The nuns probably aroused more sympathy than did the monks. The *Annual Register,* telling of the popular interest in the Carmelite Nunnery at Lanherne, near St. Columb, speaks of them as "venerable ladies" who have been driven out of France by the "philosophical savages" of the Revolution.[4] A high tribute to the refugee nuns was paid by "A Friend of Religious and Civil Liberty" (who at least calls himself a Protestant), writing in 1815

[1] That this feeling was widespread through the clergy is shown by the Addresses of the Clergy of the Diocese of Worcester and also of Llandaff to his Majesty, 1792 (*Annual Register,* xxxiv, 75). The Romanists also requested this. *Cf.* O'Leary, *An Address to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal* (London, 1800), pp. 15-16.

[2] Letter to Bishop Walmesley, Nov. 4, 1794, in Ward, *op. cit.,* ii, 35.

[3] Fosbrooke, *British Monachism,* p. 402.

[4] *Annual Register,* xlvii, 394 (1895).

when England was contemplating the return of the conventual orders to the Continent. "No," he says, "the Religious never were a burden to the state which protected them. . . . The writer of these reflections was an eye witness of it (their charity). He lived for several years near the habitation of a community of these exiled nuns. They were far from being rich as was obvious from the state of the house which they occupied. Nevertheless, with their little income and the produce of their garden and four or five cows, they found the means never to refuse any of the numberless poor who came to the convent to beg some assistance. They received them all with unwearied patience, heard with sympathy their long tales of woe, . . . and shared cheerfully with them the homely fare of the community. . . . Indeed, the charity of these good nuns had made them so well known, that at several miles distance every poor family would have instantly directed you to their house." [1] He goes on to say that their charity was extended to Protestants as well as to Catholics.

Did such individual cases color men's general idea of monastic orders? It may be unscientific in the historian to generalise from a few particulars, but it is natural for the man on the street so to do. And it is the view of the Englishman on the street at that time which this chapter is trying to portray. How easily does the writer just quoted glide from this specific case of charity over into general conclusions. "This act of humanity," he adds, "reminded me of what I had read in the History of the French Settlements in Canada, and which shows that the same spirit has always animated religious communities of women." [2] Quite in the laudatory tone of the seventeenth

[1] *A Friend of Religious and Civil Liberty. Some Reflections on Communities of Women* (London, 1815), pp. 29-30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

century, another writer in 1797 says of the old English monasteries, "They maintained the indigent and prevented the necessity of our heavy taxes for the poor. They encouraged industry by the persons whom they employed and the easy rent of their estates. Celibacy there found a harmless refuge without endangering the peace of society by the lawless pursuit of sensual pleasures. Since their abolition their merit is acknowledged, and their enemies confess that the picture which Infidelity has drawn of them has been wonderfully overcharged." [1] A similar defence of monastic institutions was made by William Windham, speaking in the House of Commons June 23, 1800. That he was influenced by the French refugees is clear. "Those who had fled to us were but miserable remains as to their means and power, though not as to the virtues they had uniformly displayed." [2] All these citations tend to show that admiration and sympathy for the exiles were breaking down the English anti-monastic prejudice. The ideas of 1800 appear so different from those of 1791. But after all a few quotations do not prove any desire for monasticism. Their significance must not be overestimated. One event, however, cut through English public opinion in 1800 and revealed a cross-section of the monastic feeling. That event was a bill in Parliament.

In the Commons on May 22, 1800, Sir Henry Mildmay moved the following resolutions before the Committee of the whole House: "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the temporary residence in this Kingdom of certain monastic societies, should be permitted, subject to the provisions of an act passed in the thirty-third year of his present Majesty, intituled 'An Act for establishing Regulations respecting aliens arriving in this Kingdom, or

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine,* Aug., 1797, p. 636.
[2] *Annual Register,* xlii, 141 (1800).

resident therein, in certain cases,' and that the admission of any new members into such societies should be prohibited, and the names and numbers of the persons belonging thereto should be annually returned to the Court of quarter-sessions in which they reside." [1] In making this motion Sir Henry expressed his strong approval of the hospitality shown by England to the French emigrants and of their peaceful demeanor and unassuming gratitude. It was also to England's honor to have allowed the monastics to discharge those vows which in their mind were humanly indissoluble; but such indulgence ought to expire with the life of the present incumbent. He feared this would not be the case. "It fell within his own observation to know that in each of the two monastic societies established at Winchester, several persons had been suffered actually to take both veils, since their residence there; and as he was credibly informed a great variety of similar instances might be produced from different parts of the country." [2] These practices should be checked at once lest Parliament by voting money for the subsistence of the monks, should be made a party to "the revival of the most unnatural part of the Romish faith." [3] In spite of all their hospitality it could never be the intention of the government to encourage the reëstablishment of monastic institutions in this protestant country. Another danger of these institutions was the free tuition which their schools offered to English children. Through their system of education a great influence was exerted over the minds of the pupils.[4]

This resolution was supported by the speeches of Mr.

[1] *Annual Register,* xlii, 139-140 (1800).
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 139.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 139.
[4] Mr. Newbolt's Speech, *ibid.,* p. 140.

Pitt, Mr. Johnes and Mr. Bragge. The speaker in opposition was Mr. Hobhouse. On June 23, 1800, the bill embodying the resolution was reported from the Committee. A long and animated debate followed. Support was given by Sir H. Mildmay, Mr. T. Jones, Mr. Dudley Ryder, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Percival. The argument was much along the line of Mr. Mildmay's former speech. A few new points were brought out. For instance, Mr. Ryder's position was that the bill would protect the monasteries from suspicion, but he wanted to make sure they would not proselytise. "The monastic life," he said, "was pretty generally condemned even in Roman Catholic countries, and he had by no means expected to hear that defended in the House of Commons." [1] The opposition was led by Mr. Windham, Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Hobhouse, on the ground that England should not mar her record of hospitality, that the exiles were a harmless remnant, and that when the troubles were over in France these monks would return, carrying all their customs and sentiments with them.[2] After a few alterations the bill was passed by the House of Commons, 52 to 24.[3]

In the House of Lords the bill was supported by the Bishop of Winchester and in part by Lord Chancellor Loughborough. It was opposed by Bishop Horsley of Rochester as being unnecessary because of existing laws, and as unconstitutional and dangerous because of the licensing and dispensing power which it put in the hands of the Crown. The bishop favored the regulation of the monastic schools, but desired the same for the schools of the Protestant dissenters where "the doctrines of Jacobinism, sedition and infidelity were but too frequently incul-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

cated to his certain knowledge." [1] The bill was lost in the House of Lords.

More interesting than the debates and the votes was the Catholic attitude toward this bill. Their efforts seem to have turned the tide in the House of Lords.[2] In order to silence the enemies of the monks, Father O'Leary, an Irish Franciscan, wrote a pamphlet of sixty-five pages on the subject of this bill.[3] He attributes Mildmay's measure to a controversy between Dr. Sturges, Chancellor of Winchester, and John Milner, a Roman priest later Bishop of Castabala. Milner in his history of Winchester had depicted the "eminent men of religious orders who had reflected lustre on the church of Winchester, in the same colours that any impartial Protestant historian would have done, as several of them have." [4] Sturges overlooked the benefits of the orders in his denunciation of their fasts and celibacy. O'Leary reminded him that in the seventeenth century, Bishop Andrewes lived in a state of celibacy and Bishop Morley was noted for his ascetic living, both being revered prelates of the English church.[5]

O'Leary apologizes for the nuns on the ground of their harmlessness. They are of great service to the Catholic nobility in educating their daughters, but they do not proselyte Protestant children, as charged. The Church of England need not be alarmed at the conversions made by these nuns or missionaries, for "Tom Paine has made more

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

[2] Bishop Douglass called "on the old friend of the Catholics, Dr. Horsley, Bishop of Rochester"; the nuns wrote to the Duke of Portland and Mr. Windham; Milner also wrote to Lord Granville and the Lord Chancellor. Ward, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival*, p. 208. *Cf.* the Lord Chancellor's speech—*Annual Register*, xlii, 144-145.

[3] O'Leary, *An Address to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal* (London, 1800).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

converts in the three kingdoms in three years than the Catholic clergy will make in twenty thousand." [1] "One Catholic lady of an edifying life and amiable manners in the world, would make more converts than ten thousand cloisters." [2] Not only are these religious orders declared to be harmless, but they have no status as monasteries. "A monastic institution requires a monastery endowed and the sanction of the laws of the state to render the vows of the religious irrevocable." [3] The Act of 1791 prohibited monasteries proper. Hence what are the few English nuns now in England and the few Irish nuns in Ireland? Merely "a few Catholic females who, from devotion form a resolution to die old maids, and when tired of celibacy, can marry in spite of Pope or Bishop." Thus this Catholic leader, observing the temper of the times, did not try to defend monasticism, but to deny its existence in England, and to offer an apology for the ascetic life.[4]

With such arguments as these the monastic stigma was removed from the French monks and nuns then in England. Protestant suspicions seem to have been allayed. "Nothing more was ever heard of the inspecting of convents, or of reviving the bill in any form." [5]

As to the general interest in the subject of this bill, there seem to have been some differences of opinion. A recent Catholic writer thinks the bill did not receive much attention and was never near a passage, being especially inopportune at a time when the question of union with Ireland was before Parliament.[6] This view, however, is somewhat controverted by O'Leary's statement, "One would imagine that there was a kind of confederacy among some of the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[5] Ward, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival*, ii, 209.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

editors of the public papers to ring the alarm." [1] Mr. Mildmay, with a typical politician's air and consequent unreliability, said "that in submitting this subject to the attention of Parliament, he had complied with the general voice of the public, laity as well as clergy." [2] Mr. Newbolt's speech voiced the alarm "among the clergy and others." [3] To Mr. Percival the bill to check the monasteries seemed important and worthy of being the last solemn act of the British Parliament.[4] The Annual Register mentions the interest on both sides.[5] Hence this measure seems to have aroused quite general consideration and its discussion reveals a pretty fair cross-section of English opinion on the subject of monasteries. It shows the English still unreconciled to the monastic idea, but their hostility overcome by their hospitality and their belief in its harmlessness. Having triumphed in this public discussion, the monastic communities could live unmolested for some years at least. Thus the Roman religious orders became once more established in England.

The direct influence of these reëstablished monasteries on the Anglican monastic revival can not of course be definitely estimated. That they greatly hastened Catholic Emancipation and the coming of Roman institutions is almost unquestioned.[6] That they paved the way for the Oxford Tracts and the Puseyite Movement was believed by many at the time of those movements.[7] The Tractarian publi-

[1] O'Leary, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[2] *Annual Register*, xlii, 139 (1800).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[6] B. R. W. in *Pax*, Sept., 1912, p. 29; *cf. English Review*, v, 387 (June, 1846).

[7] F. W. Grey, in *American Catholic Quarterly*, xxxiv, 503 (1909); *cf.* B. R. W. in *Pax*, Sept., 1912, p. 29. The *English Review*, June, 1846, v, 387, reviewed Jules Gondon, *Conversion de soixante minstres*

cations showed admiration for the French refugee clergy.[1]

The Englishman no longer had to go to the continent or to an outgrown age to see a convent. The hideous picture of the Catholic priest handed down by the Elizabethan tradition did not tally with the spiritual character, the modesty and the gratitude of these French refugee monks.[2] A poem of the day tells how "half the people of Lulworth are already turned, and the parish clerk among them, by the splendor and parade of the ceremonies, and structure erected by foreign artists," [3] at the Monastery of La Trappe. They were shown that convents could live in England in their own times.[4] Institutions at home may lack some of the attraction of those abroad, those of the present may lose some of the halo of the mediaeval; but their feasibility is far better known. All this was a step in the preparation of the English soil for the monastic plant, even though the cultivation was by the Roman church and the land was to lie fallow for forty years.

anglicans, etc. (Paris, 1846). Gondon had enumerated the causes of the "religious regeneration of England, and the conversions which we witness; Puseyite Movement, and anarchy of evangelical Protestantism." Among these causes he mentions the hospitable reception which the French emigrant priests met with in England during the Revolution; the consequence of which was, not only that the penal laws against the Roman Catholics were necessarily relaxed, but that the priests had opportunities of introducing their principles into English families in which they were received.

[1] *British Critic,* xxxii, p. 261, *et seq.* (Oct., 1842).

[2] Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning* (London, 1895), i, 655.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine,* lxvi, pt. i, p. 317 (Apr., 1796), reviewing a poem attributed to Dr. Bernard Hodson, principal of Hertford College, on the building of a monastery at Lulworth, Dorsetshire, by the monks of La Trappe.

[4] That they observed these examples is shown by Woodhouse, *Monasticism, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1896), p. 377. *Cf.* Wackerbarth, *The Revival of Monastic Institutions; and their bearing upon society, etc.* (Colchester, 1839), p. 27. *Cf.* Anglo-Catholicus, *The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems* (London, 1843).

CHAPTER III

The Preparation of English Society for Monastic Institutions

SEC. I. A PERIOD OF ACADEMIC DISCUSSION. 1800-1815

The first fifteen years of the nineteenth century might be called the academic period of English monastic history. The antiquaries and book reviewers found food for thought in discussions of monasticism, but the people were engrossed in the continental war. Two factors kept alive what interest there was in the subject.

One of these factors was the recently restored monasteries. After the discussion of Mildmay's bill had been silenced, the general public seemed to lose interest. But historians sometimes attempt to breathe life into seeming corpses. In 1802 Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke, the distinguished antiquary, wrote his *British Monachism, or Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England.* One of the three divisions of his subject was "The modern introduction of Monasticks, owing to the Political Surgery of the French Revolutionary charlatans, who amputated limbs with hatchets and drew teeth with blacksmith's pincers." [1] The popularity of this book shows that the subject was not an entirely dead issue.[2] The *Gentleman's*

[1] 1817 ed., p. 398.

[2] In preface to the second edition: "The first edition of this book having been so honored by the public approbation as to be advertised in sale-catalogues at twice the original price."

Magazine in reviewing this book recognizes the revival of the monastic spirit and regards the checking of this spirit as the aim of Fosbrooke's work.[1]

In 1801 a humorous poem appeared, the title of which indicates its occasion and theme: *The Canonization of Thomas ——, Esq., who has lately erected at East L—H, Dorset, a monastery and therein established a body of monks. The Stanzas by Sternhold and Hopkins, Poets Laureate to the monastery. The Notes by Addison, Archbishop Tillotson, Hume, Dingenon, Rennel, Bishop Newton, Voltaire, Bishop Sherlock and Judge Blackstone.* (London, Kirby, 1801). 56 pp."[2] The poem tries to point out that the increase of Roman institutions should cause alarm; and the reviewer's comment reveals some general interest in the theme. He writes: "We know nothing about the monastery to which this pamphlet relates, though we have heard of many others of the same description." That the question of monastic institutions was still regarded in 1812 as of some importance, is shown by an article in the *Quarterly Review*.[3] After pointing out how the Romanists are obtruding themselves on the public and avowing the wildest absurdities of the Middle Ages, the *Quarterly* says a brief modern refutation is demanded. The reviewer himself undertakes a long dissertation against celibacy. On the whole, however, contemporary literature reveals no widespread or intense interest aroused by the restored monasteries.

The other factor in arousing interest in conventual institutions was the Catholic controversial writing. John Milner's *History of Winchester* was partly responsible, as has been seen, for Mildmay's bill of 1800. His second

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxii, 137 (Feb., 1802).
[2] Reviewed in *Anti-Jacobin Magazine*, x, 205-206 (1801).
[3] vii, 106 (Mar., 1812); *cf.* p. 98.

edition [1] aroused another storm of attack. His praise of monasticism in general was denounced as against historical evidence.[2] His apology for vows on the ground that they were dispensable in emergency was repudiated for the reason that a vow is invalid because it is sinful, apart from the question of convenience.[3] Milner's long and vehement note on the antiquity of clerical celibacy is answered thus: "We allow his facts and inferences . . . ; but be it remembered, that, as Protestants, we have little reverence for musty canons, when reason, Scripture and nature, reclaim against them." [4]

The appearance of the *Antiquities of the Saxon Church* by John Lingard, the Roman Catholic historian of England, managed to occasion considerable controversy.[5] This work was characterized by one reliable reviewer as a controversial work to extol monks.[6] This reviewer answers that monasticism at its best is a waste of devotion. On the merits of celibacy Lingard joined the chorus of Catholic writers. "On this subject every Catholic writer dwells with an enthusiasm for which we are at a loss to account." [7] In fact the controversial publications in this period [8] indicate a concerted campaign on the part of Cath-

[1] Milner, *The History Civil and Ecclesiastical and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester,* 2nd ed., 1809.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine,* lxxx, 147 (Feb., 1810); *cf. Quar. Rev.,* iii, 367.

[3] *Quarterly Review,* iii, 354-355 (May, 1810).

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 354; *cf.* pp. 365-366.

[5] Lingard, *The Antiquities of the Saxon Church* (1806).

[6] *Quarterly Review,* vii, 93 (Mar., 1812).

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 101.

[8] *Cf.* Milner, *An Inquiry into Certain Vulgar Opinions concerning the Catholic Inhabitants and Antiquities of Ireland—Addressed to Protestant Gentlemen in England,* 1808. *Cf.* Parkyn, *Monastic and Baronial Remains* (London, 1816). *Cf. Gentleman's Magazine,* lxxxiii, pt. i, 430 (1813).

olic writers to arouse interest in Romanist institutions, especially monasticism and its chief ally, celibacy.

If there was such a campaign it could hardly be counted a success, for at the close of the Napoleonic Wars there seemed little hope of popularizing the Roman monastic orders, and no suggestion of such things in the Anglican Communion.[1] After the peace, however, the proposal to send the members of the French orders back to the continent called forth an important book in their defence.[2] Its importance lies not so much in its positive arguments, for they may be the opinions of only the one man. Furthermore while the writer claims to be a Protestant, the book appears to be a Jesuitical attempt to present Roman Catholic views. The points of interest to an Anglican history, however, are the arguments it seeks to answer. In these negative positions is to be found a good summary of the English Protestant attitude toward monasticism.

One chief argument which the writer seeks to refute is the fear of celibacy which some think would deprive England of many good citizens. He answers that of the 6,262,716 females in England, Scotland and Wales 3,718,501 are now unmarried. Hence a few nuns will not

[1] *Cf. Eclectic Review,* xxiv, 553-5 (1816); also *Eclectic Review,* vi, 232 (1808).

[2] *A Friend of Religious and Civic Liberty. Reflections on Communities of Women and Monastic Institutes* (London, 1815).

The preface gives the aim and occasion. "A Report having been spread since the last peace, and being still generally prevalent that the Religious Communities, which the persecuting spirit of the French Revolution had driven from their convents, would either not be suffered to remain in their native country or obliged to renounce in some degree their rules and constitution; I thought it a duty incumbent upon me to try to remove the fears of some well-meaning people, and to show that there is nothing in these religious establishments, which can give the least umbrage to a liberal and enlightened nation."—Preface, p. 1.

affect the proportion.[1] Catholic countries have not suffered in population. Moreover the celibacy that hurts is that due to luxury and selfishness.[2] A second fear which he seeks to allay is that nuns will increase the poor rates in England.[3] However, just the opposite will be true, he shows. The nuns will help in philanthropy, as for instance in hospitals and asylums. A third belief of the English Protestant is that a life of retirement, penance and prayer is one of idleness and social uselessness.[4] This he answers by an appeal to the example of the first Christians.[5] Fourth, the nun's garb is ridiculed by the Protestants.[6] He replies that this same dress when worn at a masquerade ball is popular. A fifth ground of Protestant attack is the austerity and abstemious way of living in convents.[7] These, he maintains, have been greatly mitigated in English convents;[8] and, moreover, greater abstemiousness is healthful. A sixth argument against monastic orders is their vows,[9] which are held to be a restriction of liberty. He recalls the Biblical sanction. The seventh point of opposition is really only an exploded superstition, he claims, namely, that of enclosing nuns.[10] A final charge to be met is that of immorality;[11] and to this the writer in reply shows how inconsistent the Protestant clergy are to complain against the nuns while the social evils of the time are greatly on the increase.[12] A writer who has essayed such an extensive treatment is pretty sure to have collected a somewhat complete list of the extant arguments. Here then is a glimpse of English Protestant opinion on monas-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 11, using the census of 1811.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 43, *et seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 50, *et seq.*
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 64, *et seq.*
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 81, *et seq.*
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

teries at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. How prevalent these views are there is little to indicate; but this writer treats them as if quite general. In spite of the fact that the monastic orders were not forced to return to the continent, England seems no nearer to Anglican monasteries than in 1800. Less than thirty years remain before the first Anglican conventual order was founded on a permanent basis. In the meantime a broad chasm had to be bridged.

SEC. II. SOCIAL CONDITIONS FOSTER MONASTIC IDEAS. 1816-1832

In the social history of England the first few years following the Napoleonic Wars are an epochal period of adjustment. In monastic history the importance of these years is less apparent, and hence commonly ignored. It is nevertheless a time of preparation, without which the fruit of the forties would have been delayed, if not prevented.

In the first place, the distress of the poor at the close of the war caused great concern. Through the increased Poor Rates [1] it brought pressure on the higher classes and hence the silent suffering of the poor found a voice in the literature of the time. It recalled the poverty after the suppression of the monasteries.[2] The charity of the former monasteries was treated in various periodicals. Some maintained that those establishments were a great social blessing and that their suppression was "the efficient cause or occasion of the institution of the Poor Rates." [3] Others

[1] *Quarterly Review,* xv, 196 (April, 1816).

[2] *Ibid.,* 193-194; *cf. Quarterly Review,* xxii, 60 (1819); *cf. Gentleman's Magazine,* pt. i, p. 130 (Feb., 1815); *cf. Edinburgh Review* (Oct., 1813); *cf. Blackwood's Magazine,* xxxi, 576 (Apr., 1832).

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine,* Feb., 1815, p. 131; *cf. Quarterly Review,* April, 1816, pp. 193-194.

refuted this position, holding that the increase of pauperism came from a wider source than the suppression of the monasteries,[1] but that this event "spread the evils over a wider surface." [2] Some even maintained that "the poor are better provided for by a rate equally paid and carefully administered than by the gratuitous, and of course, partial alms of the monasteries." [3] This discussion led to some quite concrete and positive suggestions on the part of the Tory party in church and state. The *Quarterly Review,* the organ of that party,[4] devotes considerable space to the history of monasteries, because it is anxious to bring this important subject before the better classes.[5] Moreover it lifts them out of the realm of mere academic discussion and restores them to their status of living issues. The *Quarterly* would not reëstablish the old monastic orders intact, but it does desire reformed monasteries without vows and superstitions. They are needed to find fit work for certain classes, especially women. Thus the Tory or Church Party, under the influence of the increased poverty and the growing Poor Rates, is beginning to foreshadow the work of Pusey and Newman although the motives of the latter men were quite different, as will be seen.

Another social fact that turned the public attention to-

[1] *Blackwood's Magazine,* xxxi, 576 (April, 1832).

[2] *Quarterly Review,* xxxiii, 437-438 (1825-6).

[3] *Quarterly Theological Review,* i, 290 (1824-5).

[4] The chief contributors were Gifford, Southey, Scott and Lockhart. "For a picture of the national mind and opinion, not at its lovely and lofty fountain heads, nor yet in its low flat levels, but in its upper civilized ranges, we may well turn to a few faded numbers of the *Edinburgh* or the *Quarterly.*" Elton, *A Survey of English Literature, 1780-1830,* 2 vols., i, 403. "The great Quarterlies tell us, for good or ill, what half of cultivated Britain was agreed in thinking at a particular moment." *Ibid., cf.* Chapman, *English Literature in Account with Religion,* p. 130.

[5] *Quarterly Review,* xxii (1819), p. 90, *et seq.*

ward convents was the surplus of women. The war had aggravated this condition.[1] It was, therefore, advantageous to have these retreats. The reasons were that women of the middle class feel the economic pressure more than men. The speculation and extravagance which stopped with the war left many unemployed, and the women were less able to adapt themselves than men. On the continent many women were employed in shops but in England very few.[2] Hence the Anglican Church felt that it must support asylums for English ladies or the Roman Catholic convents would get them.

The acuteness of the problem of the surplus women led to an establishment of a retreat near Bath. "In the spring of 1815 the Dowager Duchess of Buccleuch, Lady Carysfoot, Lady Anson, Lady Willoughby, and Lady Clanbrock, having taken into consideration the plan of an institute calculated to afford the comforts of life at a moderate expense to ladies of respectability and small fortunes, agreed to form an association for promoting establishments of that nature." [3] While insistence was made on having women of religious principles, there were no vows, no openly monastic elements.[4] Another writer likens it to a "secular convent." [5] These retreats desired by the High Church party may have been very unlike the old nunneries of the 16th century, but that they were a step in that direction is shown by the citation of Ferrar's community,

[1] The writer of *Reflections on Religious Communities of Women* (*vide supra*) estimated the number of unmarried women of more than 20 years in England, Scotland, and Wales, at 1,239,833, by taking one-third of all the unmarried women, as given by census of 1811 (pp. 14-15).

[2] *Quarterly Review,* xxii, 90-91 (1819).

[3] *Quarterly Review,* xxii, p. 96.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 98.

[5] *British Review,* viii, 457, *et seq.* (1816).

of the proposals of Mary Astell, Lady Masham and others.[1]

A third social factor in preparing the way for the monastic orders of women was the need of better nursing. This subject received much attention in the early part of the nineteenth century.[2] The work of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry in the prisons, begun in 1813, was really the first practical demonstration of training nurses in England.[3] It stimulated admiration for women's work along all similar lines. A pamphlet entitled *Protestant Sisters of Charity*[4] cited the commission which Louis XVI had sent to investigate English hospital conditions. This commission reported that there were in England two notable deficiencies, viz., the zeal of the French parochial clergy and the charity of the Hospital nuns.[5] This interest in better nursing meant an interest in religious orders, for "there was no inkling of an idea that refined and conscientious nursing could be thought of outside the bands of a religious Sisterhood, and so lacking was that time in a rational humanity, that the idea would no doubt have seemed preposterous."[6] Robert Southey and Dr. Gooch "an eminent and recognized physician"[7] were leaders in advocating nursing reform and for this the means in their opinion were Protestant Sisters of Charity, modelled after the Beguines they had seen in

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

[2] Dock, *History of Nursing*, 4 vols. (New York, 1903-12), iv, 62 *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[4] *Protestant Sisters of Charity; a Letter Addressed to the Lord Bishop of London* (London, 1825).

[5] *Cf. Quarterly Review*, xv, 230 (Apr., 1816).

[6] Dock, *op. cit.*, ii, 64. *Cf. Quarterly Rev.*, xiii, 470; *cf. Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. by C. C. Southey (N. Y., 1855), pp. 326 *et seq.*; *cf. Bath Chronicle*, Dec. 13, 1808; *cf. Blackwood's Magazine*, xviii, 732-735 (Dec., 1825).

[7] Jameson, *Sisters of Charity* (London, 1855), p. 92.

Flanders.[1] As early as 1816 Southey had written to Sharon Turner, "Would that they had an order of Beguines in England! . . . The total abstinence of religion from our poor-houses, alms-houses and hospitals is as culpable in one way as the excess of superstition is in another." [2] These nursing Sisters were needed also in the country districts. A country curate in a letter addressed to the Bishop of London, December, 1825, portrays the poor medical facilities of the rural districts. The doctors are unable to help, the curates are too poor to help. Hence there is a need for resident nurses.[3] Dr. Gooch goes further and outlines specific plans. "Let them be selected for good plain sense, kindness of disposition, and deep piety. Let them be placed as nurses and pupils in the hospitals of Edinburgh and London." [4] When trained they should be placed two by two in a cottage in the center of some country district. The interest in this subject was widened by the reports of the soldiers who had been nursed by the Sisters of Charity on the continent.[5] No comment is needed to show how this agitation for better nursing, so long as it was regarded as impossible apart from religious Sisterhoods, was paving the way for conventual orders.

SEC. III. CHURCH CONDITIONS TURN ATTENTION TO MONASTIC ORDERS

As soon as the war was over, attention was turned to the deplorable state of the church. The church had not

[1] *Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, p. 326.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Protestant Sisters of Charity*, pp. 19-20.

[4] Quoted in Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[5] The words of M. Portalis, in praise of the Sisters of Charity who had ministered to the English soldiers at Pau (1814): "This digression may be excused in gratitude to a most useful and exemplary order, to

kept pace with England's industrial development. The parochial, like the electoral, system had not been adapted to changing populations. Even in some country parishes the Anglican church did not provide for the moral training of the poor peasantry, leaving them to the mercy of the Methodists.[1] The greatest lack, however, was in the cities.[2] By the Act of 1818 a commission (to continue for ten years) was appointed to "examine the state of the parishes and extra-parochial places in the metropolis and vicinity, and other parts of England and Wales, to ascertain in which additional churches and chapels are most required, and the most effectual means of affording such accommodation." £1,000,000 was put at their disposal.[3] In London there were 7 parishes with 20,000 to 30,000 more inhabitants than their churches could hold. In Liverpool only 21,000 out of 44,000 could be accommodated in the established churches. In Manchester the churches would accommodate 11,000 out of a population of 79,000. In the diocese of Winchester church facilities were needed for 265,000 more persons, or four-fifths of the population. In the diocese of York additional churches were needed for 580,000 people and in diocese of Chester for 1,040,000. In a circle of ten miles around London it was

whose pious offices so many of our wounded countrymen are beholden; perhaps also it may lead to some useful thoughts." Quoted in *Quarterly Review,* xiii, 470-471 (July, 1815).

[1] *Quarterly Review,* xv, 201 (April, 1816).

[2] "The deficiency is greatest in growing towns and cities, the very places where religious instruction is more peculiarly required; it is an evil which has arisen with the commercial prosperity of the country and keeps pace with it." *Quarterly Review,* xxiii, 554 (1820).

[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 553-554; *cf.* Chalmers, *Christian and Civil Economy of Large Towns,* i, 112; *cf.* Henley, *A Plan of Church Reform* (London, 1832); *cf. The Real Causes of the Papal Aggression Considered* (London, 1851), pp. 7-12.

estimated that 977,000 were shut out from the common pastoral offices of the Established Church.[1] One writer estimates that all the churches will accommodate only about one-tenth of the population.[2]

In devising a remedy the Churchmen recalled the conditions in the time of the monasteries. "That they (the monks) interfered with the parochial clergy in many respects and lessened their utility in diminishing their influence is undeniable; but so long as they existed, there was no lack of religious instruction, such as it was; and in extensive parishes and thinly peopled countries, the itinerant friars performed those duties which a stationary ministry could but imperfectly discharge." [3] The more they compared the present with the past, the more attractive the old monastic orders looked. "While they existed the Church had in itself a principle of growth which kept pace with the growth of cities, the general increase of population, and the necessities of society. . . . It is to be regretted that the revenues of these orders, instead of being so scandalously squandered, had not been applied to the foundation of institutions, such as might easily have been devised, retaining all that was good in the former without any of the alloy." [4] Not only did they look with admiration toward the destroyed monasteries of their own England but they also compared the efficiency of the Roman

[1] *A Friend of Religious and Civil Liberty, Reflections,* p. 100; *cf.* the six works reviewed in *Quarterly Review,* xxiii, 552 *et seq.* (1820).

[2] *Quarterly Review,* xxiii, 555 (1820).

[3] *Quarterly Review,* xxiii, 555 (1820).

[4] *Ibid.,* pp. 552-553; *cf. Gentleman's Magazine,* lxxiv, 722 (Aug., 1804). The contrast of the manufacturing system with the monastic is brought out. "Our forefathers built convents and cathedrals—the edifices which we have erected are manufactories and prisons, the former producing tenants for the latter." *Quarterly Review,* xxiii, 554 (1820).

monastic missionaries with their Protestant organization.[1] In spite of their repudiation of Roman Catholicism, the increasing favor toward reformed monastic institutions on the part of the Quarterly Reviewers, who may safely be taken as the spokesman of the High Church party, is too apparent for further comment.

SEC. IV. THE INFLUENCE OF CONTINENTAL TRAVEL ON MONASTIC IDEAS

The popularity of travelling on the continent was marked among the English after the Napoleonic Wars. So prevalent did it become that it called forth many articles on its dangers.[2] Fears were expressed that the English travellers would imbibe too many of the continental ideas. "Popish absurdities" were among the tabooed dangers.[3] If monastic ideas were classed among the "absurdities," the English fears were well-grounded, for certainly many travellers have left an echo of their admiration. The privations of the monastics in the war-swept countries aroused sympathy. "Notwithstanding my staunch Protestantism," writes one tourist, "I sighed during the course of my tour over the ruins of many a convent, and tenderly sympathized with many a monk and nun in their

[1] The *Quarterly Review* (xxiii, 552, 1820) notes that even in Spanish Indies and Brazil, it is impossible to provide for the spiritual instruction of the people over so wide a surface; and "if this is impracticable for the Romish Church, with its celibacy, its power, its admirable organization, its great auxiliary force of Regulars, under the most despotic discipline and the zealous aid of government—how much less is it to be effected by Protestant churches to which all these advantages are wanting." *Cf. British Review,* xxii, 150-151 (1824), for a tribute to monks of Canada.

[2] *Christian Observer,* xviii, 668 *et seq.* (Oct., 1819); *cf. Quarterly Review,* xxxviii, 145 *et seq.* (1828); *cf. Blackwood's Magazine,* xxii, 286 (Sept., 1827).

[3] *Blackwood's Magazine, ibid.*

privations." [1] After praising the monks for their industry, morality and general humanity, the writer adds, "The abbots here, as formerly in England, have stood forth the advocates of the liberty of the people." [2] The antiquity and permanence of the monastic institutions gave them a sort of halo in the eyes of the English traveller, especially in contrast to the shifting institutions of the recent revolution.[3] The wealth and dignity of some religious orders elicited admiration [4] at a time when the Protestant clergy on the continent and in some cases at home were poor to the point of inefficiency. The governmental suppression of monasteries in Spain was condemned by one traveller as rash and ruthless because of the good works of some of the institutions.[5]

The native orders, such as the Sisters of Charity and the Beguines, came in for the most unqualified praise. Southey could not speak too highly of these devoted women whom he had seen at Ghent and elsewhere.[6] Dr. Gooch adds his tribute. "When I was in Flanders recently I saw at Bruges and Ghent some of this singular and useful order of nuns—they are all of a respectable station in society and dedicate themselves to the most menial attendance on the sick." [7] The praise of these Sisters of Charity was echoed by a curate who had lived in France for

[1] "A Tour Through Various Parts of the Netherlands and Germany in 1815," in *Gentleman's Magazine,* lxxxvi, pt. ii, pp. 391-392 (Nov., 1816).

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 392.

[3] Eustace, *A Tour Through Italy,* ii, 241-242, reviewed in *Edinburgh Review,* xxi, 378 *et seq.* (July, 1813).

[4] *London Magazine,* Feb., 1824, describing a Benedictine Monastery at La Cava.

[5] *Blackwood's Magazine,* xiv, 163-166 (Aug., 1823).

[6] *Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey,* pp. 319-320.

[7] *Blackwood's Magazine,* xviii, 732 (Dec., 1825).

several years [1] and by "an English Churchman" who had spent some years on the continent.[2] These last mentioned orders being less restricted and more active, made a greater appeal to the Protestant Englishman than did the others. Therefore while he condemned Popery, he could accept these. For instance, one writes: "I strongly and deeply lament the errors of Popery. . . . In every part of this country (France) are found numerous respectable females, who dedicate their whole time to religious and charitable offices. They are nuns and Roman Catholics, of various degrees. . . . I can not conceive any objection to the institution of similar societies, under Protestant regulations, in Great Britain. Protestant females in Great Britain, as well as Roman Catholic in France, will be ready to do the good work as soon as competent authority and protection shall be afforded them. Their offices may be the same though not bound by the vow which Roman Catholic discipline requires." [3] Some Churchmen, appealing to the testimony of "every intelligent person who has travelled in Catholic countries," praise the popular effect of the Roman forms and discipline, and "almost wish they had still been 'suckled in a creed outworn.' " [4]

While the available record of travellers' impressions can not be called a conclusive proof, and while a few returned with animosity renewed,[5] the general effect of the extensive continental travel appears to have been a lessening of the antimonastic prejudice and even a kindling of the desire for such institutions of a modified type.

[1] *Protestant Sisters of Charity; A letter addressed to the Lord Bishop of London,* Dec., 1825, p. 17.

[2] *Christian Remembrancer,* Nov., 1822, p. 668.

[3] *Ibid.,* quoting a letter from an English Churchman.

[4] *Quarterly Review,* xxiii, 555-557 (1820).

[5] *Blackwood's Magazine,* xxii, 285-287 (Sept., 1827); *cf. London Magazine,* Jan., 1823.

SEC. V. THE ROMANTIC WRITERS AND MONASTIC IDEALS

In addition to Southey, whose interest in monasteries has already been mentioned,[1] two other writers at least deserve mention in this account. Wordsworth's opinion of monastic institutions is indicated in his *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* of 1820-1. After praising the Saxon monasteries, he denounces the selfishness, greed and voluptuousness of the seculars which came to characterize the monks. Hence their dissolution was a natural consequence. But Wordsworth pictures in sympathetic words the "lonely nuns" going forth, some glad to be free, but most of them sad and homeless. He pays his tribute also to the saintly Fisher and the unbending More. The author says that these sonnets were occasioned by his love for the past and his interest in the Catholic Question. From early radicalism, he had reacted to conservatism, which saw the Roman institutions, as "not utterly unworthy to endure." [2]

Greater interest in monastic orders was taken by Sir Walter Scott. He always spoke of the monks as having alone kept the lamp of learning alight in a dark and barbarous age.[3] While he denounced their greed at times, he did so in no wholesale manner. His belief in the superiority of their architecture was evidenced not only in his words, but also in his restoration of the old monastery of Melrose.[4] To estimate the influence of Scott in arousing interest in a monastic revival is futile. That his works, so

[1] Southey's son, in enumerating his father's interests, gives a place of prominence to his desire for the establishment of Protestant Sisters of Charity. *Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, p. 380.

[2] Wordsworth, *op. cit.; cf. Cambridge History of English Literature*, xi, 108. "His *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* are the Anglican counterpart on a much narrower basis of Chateaubriand's *Genie du Christianisme*."

[3] Matthews, *Abbottsford and Scott* (Edinburgh, 1866), p. 167.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

widely read, had some effect in breaking down the prejudice against the old Romanist institutions in general is commonly asserted. "Bishops and priests, monks and nuns, pilgrims and crusaders, no longer hideous caricatures produced by ignorance and prejudice, were presented to English eyes in their true colors. The sarcasm with which Scott lashed unworthy and ambitious prelates, profligate priests, lazy and debauched friars, only enhances the reverence with which, in his novels and poems, he speaks of austere and holy men under the monk's cowl or the bishop's mitre." [1] Scott's influence should be classed as one of the antecedents of the Oxford Movement as well as of the Catholic Emancipation.[2] A specific instance of this influence is found in the *Reminiscences of Forty Years by an Hereditary High Churchman.*[3] "My mother," he says, "initiated me in the Waverley Novels." "As I read through Sir Walter Scott's poems and novels, it seemed to me that the priests and services of the Church of Rome had more than a due share of rich dresses, music and accompaniments, as well as of influence with their flocks." [4] In breaking down anti-Romanist superstitions and paving the way for the Oxford Movement, Scott deserves a place as an indirect antecendent of the monastic revival. Moreover his specific attention to monks and nuns must have had a direct influence in this movement, although it can not be proven or measured. The share of the Romantic

[1] Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Philip de Lisle*, 2 vols. (London, 1900) p. 169.

[2] Gladstone said: "I am delighted to see that among the antecedent forces of the (Oxford) Movement you have given a prominent place to Sir Walter Scott." *Ibid.*, p. 169.

[3] Smith, *Reminiscences of Forty Years, by an Hereditary High Churchman* (London, 1868), p. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

writers, therefore, in reviving monastic ideas must be recognized but not overestimated.[1]

SEC. VI. EVIDENCES OF INTEREST IN MONASTIC REVIVAL

Did all the above factors produce any results? It is of course impossible definitely to assign causes in the realm of influence. We can speak only of antecedents; but the evidences of interest in monastic orders during this period are worthy of note. The popularity of books on this subject is a good criterion. For example the new edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*[2] was subscribed for with great avidity before its publication.[3] Fosbrooke's *British Monachism* exhausted its first edition and a second was soon required.[4] In 1824 Southey wrote that his publisher recognized the popular interest in his proposed *History of the Monastic Orders* and was negotiating with him. If he should offer him £500 a volume, Southey would make it his chief employment.[5] Dr. Gooch's articles on better nursing and the need of Sisters of Charity seem to have aroused considerable interest. Southey writes to him on December 18, 1825, "It is not surprising that your letters in Blackwood should have produced so much impression."[6]

The interest in monastic institutions, however, still seemed to be greater on the negative side. If there was some High Church enthusiasm for the revival or introduction of certain religious orders, there was more general

[1] Mention should be made of Disraeli's tribute to the former monasteries in his novel *Sybil* (1845), 2nd ed., 67, *passim* (London, 1881).

[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new ed. (London, 1817-1830).

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxiii, pt. i, p. 430 (1813).

[4] 2nd ed., 1817.

[5] Letter to G. C. Bedford, in *Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, p. 426.

[6] Letter to Dr. Gooch, *ibid.*, p. 439.

interest in preventing the purely monastic elements. The opposition to enforced clerical celibacy was very marked.[1] The immorality of contemporary foreign convents and the deterioration of the former monasteries were cited. Some, therefore, condemned the whole monastic principle.[2] Southey, on the other hand, considered the revival of religious orders as possible without the irrevocable vows of celibacy. He recognized the uselessness and impropriety of celibacy,[3] at the same time declaring the dissolution of the Religious Houses to be the greatest evil attending the Reformation.[4]

Not only celibacy but monastic vows of other kinds were repugnant to the Englishmen at this time. "I know that to an Englishman, to whom liberty is almost every blessing, the mention of obedience, enclosures, and especially of an irrevocable engagement, immediately strikes his mind with disgust and horror." [5] Ascetic practices also had to be apologized for, defended and denied by the advocates of monasteries in England.[6] Southey in his revived orders would "take from such communities [*i.e.*, the pre-Reformation institutions] their irrevocable vows, their onerous laws, their ascetic practices." [7] He admitted that the name "nunnery" is deservedly obnoxious because of these popish

[1] *A Friend of Religious and Civil Liberty, Reflections, etc.*, p. 10; *cf. Eclectic Review*, viii, 497 *et seq.* (1817); xi, 265 *et seq.* (1819); *cf. Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxviii, pt. i, pp. 43 *et seq.*; *cf. Quarterly Theological Review*, iii, 93 *et seq.* (1826); *cf. Christian Remembrancer*, Sept., 1822, p. 528; *cf. Blackwood's Magazine*, xxi, 63 (Jan., 1827).

[2] *E. g., Quarterly Theological Review*, iii, 99 (1826); *cf. The Christian Remembrancer*, Sept., 1822, p. 528.

[3] *Sir Thomas More; or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, 2 vols. (London, 1829), ii, 39.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[5] *A Friend of Religious and Civic Liberty. Reflections, etc.*, p. 64.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-59.

[7] *Sir Thomas More; or Colloquies*, ii, 36.

corruptions, especially the life-long vows. "This dreadful abuse is so notorious that such institutions would not be tolerated even in superstitious countries unless some weighty advantages were found in them, whereof the great body of the people are sensible. And how easily might those advantages be obtained in communities founded upon the principles of our own Church and liable to no such evils!" [1] It is because the Beguines are free from such vows, that he chose them for his model.[2] But that he looked upon the religious life as no temporary state is shown by his statement that no one was ever known to leave an establishment of Beguines which he visited.[3]

In such an atmosphere, the only monastic orders that could be expected in England must be of a decidedly reformed type. A very complete summary of the qualifications demanded "by many thinking men" is found in Sharon Turner's popular *History of the Anglo-Saxons*.[4]

Even now in the opinion of many thinking men, if they were confined to the middle and declining periods of life, if they were frequented by those only, who, after having discharged all their social duties, desired to withdraw from the occupation, troubles and fascinations of the world, to a halcyon calm of mind, uninterrupted study, tranquil meditation, or devotional sensibility; if they were not shocked by indissoluble vows of continence, imprisoning the repining: if they were

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

[2] *Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, p. 439.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 320. Southey also expressed approval of a life as strict as that of the Franciscans. "If you had seen, as I once did, a Franciscan of fourscore, standing in the cloister of his convent, where his brothers lay beneath his feet, and telling his beads with a countenance expressive of the most perfect and peaceful piety, you would have felt with me how desirable it was that there should be such institutions for minds so constituted." Letter to Sharon Turner, Apr. 2, 1816. *Ibid.*, p. 326.

[4] 1828 ed., Tom. iii, 491. 7th ed., 1852, shows its popularity.

made seminaries of education, and allowed to be temporary asylums of unprovided youth; and if their rules and habits were framed on such moral plans and religious formulae as should be found worthy of an intellectual age, which seeks to combine the fancy and the feeling in a sweet harmony with its knowledge and reason; thus formed and directed, such institutions might again contribute to the happiness of the aged, the destitute, sorrowful, lonely, abstracted, studious, pensive, unambitious, embarrassed and the devout as well as to the instruction of the young, the relief to the poor, and the revival of religious sensibility in the community at large.

From the close of the Napoleonic Wars to the beginning of the Oxford Movement, the revival of religious orders in England has been seen to have aroused considerable interest. There was much opposition to celibacy, vows, asceticism, the distinctively monastic elements. But the social utility of modified orders had gained a rather wide recognition, especially among the High Church party. Perhaps most important of all was the great enthusiasm aroused in a few leaders, particularly Southey. Some progress is evident, when a man of his influence will say, "It is not speaking too strongly to assert that the establishment of Protestant nunneries, upon a wise plan and liberal scale, would be the greatest benefit that could possibly be conferred upon these kingdoms.[1] Not only did he desire them, he expected them within thirty years.[2] It was very fitting, therefore, that the first Anglican Sisterhood should have been proposed as a memorial to Robert Southey after his death in 1843.

In the light of this chapter, no longer can Pusey be called

[1] *Sir Thomas More: or Colloquies*, ii, 36.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

the father of the monastic revival in the English Church. The social movements of the first thirty years of the nineteenth century prepared the soil; Pusey and the Tractarians set out the monastic plant.

CHAPTER IV

The Development of the Distinctively Monastic Elements

SEC. I. THE GROWTH OF INTEREST IN CELIBACY

The monks and nuns of Henry VIII's time would not have felt at home in the institutions which Southey desired. The new orders were to be purified of the distinctively monastic elements. The social need, which alone impelled Southey, required neither vows nor asceticism. These however were to come in through the religious interest; and in the important revival beginning in 1833.

The way for this religious revival had been prepared by various influences. The old principles of Laud and the Caroline Divines had never entirely died out even in the lethargy of the eighteenth century.[1] The Evangelical Movement had raised the public standard of personal piety. The Napoleonic Wars and subsequent travel had reopened the continent to Englishmen and given them a view of continental Christianity. The Romantic writers had revived interest in the religion of the Middle Ages.[2] There were other antecedent influences; but, far reaching as these were, the immediate occasion of the Oxford Movement must be sought in the political as well as in the religious conditions of the times. Many signs betokened that the Church was in danger. Roman Catholic emancipation and the aboli-

[1] Smith, *Reminiscences of Forty Years, by an Hereditary High Churchman* (London, 1868).

[2] Kempson, in *Pax*, Dec., 1907, p. 345; *cf.* Patterson, *A History of the Church of England*, p. 404.

tion of the Test Act threw the legislature open to non-churchmen; and the Reform Bill put in power the industrial classes, who were not as a rule friendly to the Established Church. The Irish Temporalities Bill, suppressing ten bishoprics and two archbishoprics in Ireland without consulting the clergy, showed that the Church was henceforth to be governed by Parliament. This led on July 14, 1833 to the Rev. John Keble's preaching at St. Mary's, Oxford, his memorable sermon on "The National Apostasy." Newman in after years says of it: "I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the Religious Movement of 1833." [1]

The so-called Oxford movement was designed to proclaim to the world that the Church of England was no Protestant body established by law but a branch of the ancient Catholic Church. Newman became convinced that "antiquity was the true exponent of the Doctrines of Christianity and the basis of the Church of England." [2]

In their study of the ancient church, the Oxford School examined "the whole range of the doctrine and discipline and moral and religious habits, of the primitive depositories of faith; and amongst the rest the question of the esteem in which celibacy was held." [3] They could hardly have failed to become interested in celibacy, for if the statement of one of their contemporaries that it "stands forward as the most prominent characteristic of ancient Christianity," [4] is too sweeping, at least Pusey took notice that it was a primitive doctrine.[5] This interest, however, found little expres-

[1] Grey, F. W., in *American Catholic Quarterly*, xxxiv, 504.

[2] Newman, *Apologia pro vita sua* (London, 1897), p. 26.

[3] Beaven, *Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures and of the Primitive Church on the Subject of Religious Celibacy* (London, 1841), p. 6.

[4] Taylor, *Ancient Christianity and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts* (London, 1844), i, 60.

[5] Pusey, *A Letter to Richard, Bishop of Oxford* (Oxford, 1839).

sion. In 1839, Isaac Taylor said the Tractarians had scrupulously avoided the subject of celibacy.[1] He attributed their silence to fear. "They are not so devoid of worldly discretion, or so regardless of the temper of the times they live in, as not to have felt that, to protrude the ancient doctrine concerning the merits of virginity, at so early a stage of their proceedings would have been a measure that must have proved fatal to the cause they are promoting." [2] Whatever the Tractarians' motive, they had not made any official pronouncement on the subject of celibacy. "Nowhere in the Tracts" wrote Pusey to the Bishop of Oxford, "have there been put forth any recommendations whether of celibacy in general, or that of the clergy in particular. It has not been inculcated nor even named in the Tracts; and what has elsewhere been said by any who have written in the Tracts, has been dropped incidentally; there has been nothing of systematic promotion of this state. When mentioned, it has been with reference to specific cases." [3]

Pusey's letter indicates that some admiration for celibacy already existed among the Oxford leaders. Investigation bears this out. John Henry Newman, tells of his early decision to lead the single life. In his "Apologia" he writes: "I am obliged to mention another deep imagination which at this time, the autumn of 1816, took possession of me, viz., that it would be the will of God that I should lead a single life. This anticipation, which has held its ground almost continuously ever since—with a break of a month now and a month then, up to 1829, and after that date, without any break at all—was more or less connected in

[1] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 60; *cf.* Wackerbarth, *The Revival of Monastic Institutions* (Colchester, 1839). Preface, p. x.

[2] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[3] Pusey, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

my mind with the notion, that my calling in life would require such a sacrifice as celibacy involved; as for instance, missionary work among the heathen, to which I had a great drawing for some years. It also strengthened my feeling of separation from the visible world, of which I have spoken above." [1] Two facts are noticeable in Newman's statement. First, his early motive was largely a practical one; second, he became firmly determined in his idea after 1829.

These two facts involve a consideration of Newman's friend, Richard Hurrell Froude. It is probable that Newman's idea of celibacy was both strengthened and spiritualized by contact with Froude.[2] The latter was a celibate on religious principles. He maintained the intrinsic excellence of virginity of which he considered the Blessed Virgin to be the great pattern.[3] He hated the Reformers; he loved the Fathers. "Acting on Froude's advice, Newman set himself to study the Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century—Andrewes, Laud and the Caroline divines. And he felt his early devotion to the Ancient Fathers revive, and undertook to read them in chronological order." [4] The pro-monastic ideas of the seventeenth century clergy have been noted; [5] their ideas on celibacy can

[1] *Apologia* (1897 ed.), p. 7; *cf.* When returning from his father's funeral, Oct. 6, 1824, he wrote in his diary: "When I die shall I be followed to the grave by my children? My mother said the other day she hoped to live to see me married; but I think I shall die within college walls, or as a missionary in a foreign land." Mozley, *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman,* i, p. 91.

[2] Guiney, *Hurrell Froude* (London, 1904), pp. 66-67.

[3] Thureau-Dangin, *The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Wilfrid Wilberforce (London, 1914), 2 vols., i, 35; *cf.* Hutton, *Cardinal Newman* (London, 1891), p. 35.

[4] Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.,* p. 36.

[5] Chapter i.

easily be imagined.[1] Thus, under Froude's influence, Newman's practical ideas of celibacy found a spiritual and theoretical basis. Froude had a touch of mysticism.[2] His forced physical inactivity owing to ill health made him contemplative and influenced his views of life.[3] Newman was a man of a tender feeling and of very human disposition. When visiting at Dartington in 1831 he enjoyed the company of merry girls, but he escaped.[4] "Nothing is plainer than that the arch-celibate was Froude and not Newman; perhaps it would be quite exact to say that the idea, in Froude as in Pascal, was wholly endemic, and in Newman only so in part." [5] A letter of Newman to Froude shows the former's attitude toward vows, and indicates that the

[1] Jeremy Taylor, "Natural virginity, of itself, is not a state more acceptable to God; but that which is chosen and voluntary, in order to the conveniences of religion, and separated from wordly incumbrances, is therefore better than the married life." Quoted from "the most popular of his works" in *British Critic,* xxvi, 455-456 (Oct., 1839).

Bishop Montague: "I know no doctrine of our English Church against them [Evangelical Counsels]. I do believe there are and ever were evangelical counsels, such as St. Paul mentioned in his *Consilium autem do* [concerning Virginity]; such as our Saviour pointed at and directed unto in his *Qui potest capere capiat* [on the same subject]"; from Montague's *Appello Caesarem. A Just Appeal from Two Unjust Informers,* p. 215. Quoted in *British Critic,* xxxii, 362 (Oct., 1842).

Archbishop Laud wished to encourage celibacy through his appointments, and would have done so, had the times allowed. He was a single man himself. From Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus; or the history of the life and death of William (Laud), Archbishop of Canterbury,* p. 224, quoted in *British Critic,* xxxii, 362 (Oct., 1842).

Bishop Andrewes gave thanks for the virgin life. His life of celibacy was mentioned in his epitaph. *British Critic, loc. cit.,* p. 363.

Archbishop Bramhall disapproved of perpetual vows, but thought England should have orders like the "Canonesses and Biggins on the other side of the sea." *British Critic, ibid.,* p. 63.

[2] Guiney, *op. cit.,* p. 121.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 122.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 67.

[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 66-67.

latter may perhaps have suggested them. "I have thought vows (*e. g.,* of celibacy) are evidences of want of faith. Why should we look to the morrow? It will be given us to do our duty as the day comes; to bind duty by forestalment is to lay up manna for seven days; it will corrupt us." [1] As fellows of the same college and fellow travellers their ideas reacted upon each other, strengthening both.[2]

Froude's poor health and early death in 1836 left to Newman the promotion of their ideas of celibacy. This he did anonymously in the *British Magazine,* June, 1835.[3] "It is not more culpable, in the nature of things, for a given individual to take a vow of celibacy, than to take a vow of marriage, though of course it is as sinful in a father to force a daughter into a convent as it is to force her to a marriage she dislikes, and as inexpedient to take a monastic vow hastily, as to marry before one has come to years of discretion." If people charge him with Popery, he asks them in which one of the Articles is monasticism condemned. Then he adds a scriptural argument, "I beg to remind them that St. Paul, as far as the letter of his epistle goes, does prefer and recommend celibacy." [4] Newman seems to have expressed his preference for celibacy not only in this article but in his attitude toward his friends, who might succumb to the wiles of love. For instance, H. W. Wilberforce was almost afraid to tell Newman of his engagement. He wrote to one of their mutual friends, "Whether Neander (New-

[1] Mozley, *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman during his Life in the English Church,* 2 vols. (London, 1891), i, 220.

[2] *Ibid.,* ii, 19-21. When a man married his fellowship *ipso facto* became vacant. (Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.,* i, 27.)

[3] Vol. vii, 663. That he wrote this article is admitted in his letter to Froude, July, 1835; Mozley, *op. cit.,* ii, 112.

[4] It is significant of the tenor of the times that the Editor adds to this article: "The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions of his correspondents."

man) will cut me, I don't know. . . . It is, I am sure, very foolish of Newman on mere principles of calculation if he gives up all his friends on their marriage." [1]

From these citations it is seen that Taylor was not entirely correct when he said that the Tractarians had scrupulously avoided expressing themselves on the subject of celibacy.[2] Froude in his *Remains* had been shown to desire colleges of celibate priests in the large cities,[3] as shall be seen later, and Newman in the *British Magazine* had advocated the single life, but without signing his name. Hence Pusey could say that their references to celibacy were "dropped incidentally." [4] In fact it might be more exact to say they were dropped cautiously.[5] Whether it was due to fear of public opposition or uncertainty of attitude on the part of the Tractarians themselves it is difficult to say.

In 1839 this comparative silence was broken. The general interest in celibacy seems to have been growing for some time.[6] But it now was brought into the limelight by Isaac Taylor's *Ancient Christianity and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts.* This extensive and popular [7] book threw a bomb into the Tractarian camp. It made celibacy

[1] Letter of H. W. Wilberforce to F. Rogers, Esq., Jan., 1834, in Mozley, *Letters and Correspondence,* ii, 20-21. In this case he did not "cut" Wilberforce and subsequently became godfather to his first-born son.

[2] *Ancient Christianity,* i, 60.

[3] Froude, *Remains* (ed. by J. H. Newman and John Keble), 2 pts. (London, 1838-1839), i, 322.

[4] *Letter to Bishop of Oxford,* p. 140.

[5] *Cf. British Critic,* xxvi, 456 (Oct., 1839).

[6] The *British Critic,* xxvi, 454 (Oct., 1839), reviewing MacDonough's *Life of Nicholas Ferrar,* tells of its popularity, requiring a second edition, and says: "It is a good sign of a love for what is good and holy, and above our age, that there should be a demand for such a work. . . . It indicated on the face of it that the single state given to devotion was the higher line to choose."

[7] It reached the fourth edition by 1844. *Cf. British Magazine,* xvi, 648 (1839); also *cf.* Beaven, p. 28.

the test of reliability of the early church.[1] If this was the "most prominent characteristic" [2] of primitive Christianity, and the Oxford School based their arguments on the tenets of the early church, then an attack on celibacy was a vital matter to them. At first they tried to ignore the book, but its popularity was too great.[3] Hence they made a counter-attack. Their three lines of argument are interesting. The *British Critic,* the avowed organ of the Tractarians, attacked *Ancient Christianity* for its false assumptions of immorality in the early church. It did not deny the existence of celibacy, but it maintained that Taylor had deduced his charges of immorality from patristic warnings rather than from records of actual occurrences.[4]

A second line of refutation was taken by the *British Magazine.* It denied the prominence of celibacy and the existence of real monasticism in the early church.[5] "It so happens that the early fathers are very sparing in their allusions to celibacy. . . . So few, indeed, are their allusions, that a dozen lines would contain almost all that is to be found on the subject in the genuine works of the earliest six fathers." [6] *The Epistles of Cyprian* show that there were no distinct societies of celibates.[7] The Magazine refutes

[1] One of his propositions to be proved was: "That the notions and practices connected with the doctrine of the superlative merit of religious celibacy, were at once the causes and the effects of errors in theology, of perverted moral sentiments, of superstitious usages, of hierarchical usurpations; and that they furnish us with a criterion for estimating the general value of *Ancient Christianity;* and, in a word, afford reason enough for regarding, if not with jealousy, at least with extreme caution, any attempt to induce the modern church to imitate the ancient church." (1844 ed., i, p. 65.)

[2] *Ibid.,* i, 60.

[3] *British Magazine,* xvi, 648 (1839).

[4] *British Critic,* xxvi, 440 *et seq.* (Oct., 1839).

[5] *British Magazine,* xvii, 190, 419, and 516 (1840).

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 419.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 64.

Taylor's assertions as to Tertullian, saying that Tertullian advocated no vow of celibacy, in his *"Ad Uxorem."* [1] Taylor's error is that he has quoted from spurious works of the Fathers. Hence the real tenets of the early church are not affected by his charges.[2]

A third and most significant line of defence was that taken by Pusey and others. These writers admitted the celibacy of the early church and defended it as a higher state. Pusey can not read certain passages of the Bible without acknowledging that while marriage is honorable, there is a still more excellent way for "those to whom it is given." [3] While Rome has tried in vain to conform all her clergy to the celibate standard, Pusey thinks the Anglican Church should not be equally narrow by trying to force a mediocre standard on all by requiring marriage. This forced mediocrity drives some into the Roman Church.[4] Not only is the single life spiritually higher; it is more efficient, especially in the great cities.[5] Also orders of celibate women, like the Sisters of Charity, are better than the desultory visiting societies.[6]

Newman's attitude was quite similar to Pusey's. He charges Taylor with gross misrepresentation; but says the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

[2] The attention given to this book is shown by the large amount of space it receives in the *British Magazine.*

[3] *Letter to Richard, Bishop of Oxford,* p. 141 (1839). This is corroborated in Pusey's opinion by the Anglican Marriage Service. It "goes further and in the midst of its touching commendation of the 'honorable estate' of matrimony, implies a holy celibacy to be, for those to whom it is given, a higher state. For in that it speaks of continency as a 'gift,' it must imply that it is an especial favor of God to those to whom it is given." From a Letter to Dr. Jelf, quoted in *Vaux,* "Clerical Celibacy," in Shipley, *The Church and the World* (London, 1866), pp. 129-130.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

real hitch is that the clergy do not want celibacy. Hence they support Taylor, while the laity, who think clerical celibacy would be a blessing, do not take to him.[1] That Newman stood with the supposed position of the laity in praising celibacy is clear in his *Lives of the Saints* as well as in his earliest letters, which we have seen.[2] For instance, in his *Life of St. Wilfrid,*[3] he writes: "And there is yet another more excellent way of advancing the Catholic cause, which the young would do well to look to who require some field for their zeal. What poetry more sweet, and yet withal more awfully real—indeed hourly realized by the sensible cuttings of the very cross—than the pursuit of Holy Virginity." [4] What Newman had before confided to a few intimate friends, he now after 1839, declared in the open. The Scriptural argument was used by various other Tractarian writers and sympathizers in their defence of celibacy as a higher state.[5]

[1] Letter to J. W. Bowden, Esq., Jan. 5, 1840: "It is curious to find that the lawyers and laity do not take to Mr. Taylor, but the clergy do. For why? Because the doctrine of celibacy touches the latter. Put aside Mr. T's gross misrepresentation; this is the real hitch at bottom. . . . Not Mr. Taylor, but Dr. Wiseman, seems taking the lawyers; so I hear." Mozley, *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman,* ii, 294-295.

[2] *Cf. supra,* p. 65.

[3] Pp. 205-208.

[4] Quoted in Crosthwaite, *Modern Hagiology,* 2 vols. (London, 1846), i, pp. 95-96.

[5] The *British Critic,* xxx, 315 (Oct., 1841), bases its position on Christ's words in Matt. 19:12 and on St. Paul. *Cf.* xxxiv, 515 (Oct., 1843). Oakley (in his *Meditation on the Marriage at Cana,* pp. 103-107) says: "By his calling John from it, He gave us clearly to understand that the spiritual marriage of the soul with Him in a single life is far more perfect (than the married life of earth)"; quoted in Crosthwaite, i, 279.

Beaven (*op. cit.,* pp. 32 *et seq.*) relies on Matt. 19:10-12 for Christ's tribute to celibacy and on I Cor. 7, in which Paul says that celibacy offers fewer hindrances to piety.

This third position on celibacy may be called the characteristic one of the Tractarians who survived after the development of 1839 and 1840.[1] A number had felt for some time that celibacy was a higher state, as has been shown. Now they openly maintained it on the basis of Scripture.

Many other arguments beside the Scriptural were brought to its defence. Single persons are less entangled with the affairs of this life than are the married. They can, therefore, give themselves more completely to works of charity and self-denial.[2] Such unselfish and devoted work is needed especially in reclaiming the great cities, where the married parochial clergy are overwhelmed.[3] There is difficulty in finding clergy for the out-stations where great zeal is required and poor pay is given. Celibate priests could go out to these as did St. Paul.[4] The church must put forth redoubled efforts to regain what was lost by the supineness of the past generation.[5] This is possible only through the labors of single, self-sacrificing clergy. The materialistic age would be turned to higher things by "the very presence of a class of Christians, who show in their whole lives and demeanor that they are

Faber, in *Lights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches and Among Foreign Peoples* (London, 1842), p. 125, puts the Scriptural argument first.

Bennet, in *Apostasy—A Sermon* (London, 1847), p. 6, says: "Holy Orders is the taking up of our individual marriage; and setting it aside as if nothing, then raising up before our view that chaste and holy spouse, which the Lord Jesus sent forth himself to work His mercies for lost men."

[1] *Cf.* Palmer, *A Narrative of Events Connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times* (Oxford, 1843), p. 5.

[2] *British Critic*, xxvi, 456 (Oct., 1839).

[3] *British Critic*, xxvi, 456-457.

[4] Beaven, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

dead to secular cares and pleasures and that their hearts and affections are absorbed in Heavenly realities; men who live a mortified life, a life above the world; who choose poverty and *vow celibacy,* and refuse wealth and distinction when offered." [1]

All these reasons and others, for clerical celibacy are given by Frederic W. Faber in his *Lights and Thoughts.*[2] In fact, he gives nineteen arguments. He himself assumes to defend the married clergy of England and puts the arguments for celibacy in the mouth of the "Man from the Middle Ages." It requires, only a little knowledge of Faber, however, to see that this is only a literary ruse, and that he is really writing an apologetic for the extreme Tractarian position on celibacy. Some of his arguments overlap. Hence they can be considerably condensed. Those not already given by others are in substance: (1) Celibacy enables one to show his natural affection for children toward humanity at large. (2) If God has kept a man pure in school and college, does not that see ma providential sign that he should remain single? (3) If a person's love has been crossed, that is a hint of providence that he should never marry. (4) Celibacy gives one the means of making a great venture for Christ's sake. (5) It affords to a priest ways in which meek hearts may attain to a stronger feeling of communion with the rest of Western Christendom.[3] (6) Celibacy is a special cure for certain defects of character, as for instance, the desire for soft living. (7) It may remedy defects of character by being an atonement for past sin.

The effect of all this defence of celibacy by the Oxford

[1] Ward, *The Ideal of a Christian Church* (2nd ed., London, 1844), p. 413; *cf. British Critic,* xxxiv, 52-53 (July, 1843).

[2] P. 123.

[3] This is rather significant in view of Faber's later union with Rome.

School is perhaps best indicated in the words of a contemporary:

The Reformation had left the question of clerical marriage to the consciousness of the individual, but the words of the Ordinal and the overwhelming preponderance of public opinion implied its general desirability. Of late years two influences have conspired to modify this view. The first is the heightened conception of the mystery of the priesthood, emphasized by the first Tractarians, which has once more raised the idea of clerical celibacy to a position of spiritual attractiveness. The other is the fact that, owing to the pressure of poverty at home and demands of mission work abroad, the marriage of a considerable portion of the clergy has become practically impossible.[1]

The Tractarians had revived the ideas of celibacy held by the seventeenth century theologians.[2] Those earlier divines succeeded in bringing forth only a few sporadic attempts, like Ferrar's, because of the hostile spirit of their times. How were the celibate ideas of Pusey, Newman and their followers to be received? Taylor had accused these leaders of keeping silence through fear [3] of the general opposition, for he said, "There are, I presume, very few Protestants or any clergyman of the Protestant church, who would profess to think the monkish institution abstractedly good, and the celibacy of the clergy a wise and useful provision." [4] That there is some ground for the

[1] Cruttwell, *Six Lectures on the Oxford Movement* (London, 1899), p. 133.

[2] "A numerous and powerful party has arisen even in the bosom of the Church of England itself, whose object seems to be to revive the attempts made by Archbishop Laud and his followers in the seventeenth century, and to assimilate the discipline, if not the doctrine, of the Church of England with that of the Church of Rome." *The Churchman*, 1843, p. 764.

[3] *Ancient Christianity*, i, 62.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

charge that the Tractarians had been cautiously waiting to avow their position on celibacy is shown by their organ, the *British Critic*.[1] "Expectations have been entertained of the effect of the first open avowal of opinion on the subject of celibacy on the part of those said to be favorable." [2] The extreme High Churchman thus seemed to stand pretty much alone in their admiration for celibacy. However voluntary celibacy, without vows, was regarded by the moderates as possible in the Church of England.[3] The dislike of it before the Oxford Movement, even by those who, like Southey, desired reformed monastic orders, has been seen, and after the Movement had been extending its influence for more than twenty years. Bishop Harold Brown, writing on the Thirty-nine Articles, boldly says, "With us marriage is ever esteemed the more honorable estate." [4] Although the advocates of celibacy were thus few, their enthusiasm was growing during the next few years following 1839. It was destined to produce far more lasting institutions of celibacy than the agitation of the seventeenth century. The glorification of a celibate ministry led to the idea that virginity was a more honorable state than matrimony and thus contributed to the establishment of strictly "religious" orders.

SEC. II. THE EFFECT OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT ON THE INTEREST IN MONASTICISM

Considerable space has been given to the development of ideas of celibacy not only because it is the chief ally of monasticism but because its advocates in this case con-

[1] XXVI, 456 (Oct., 1839).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 456. *Cf.* Beaven, *op. cit.*, p. 7; *cf. Edinburgh Review*, xlii, 16 (Apr., 1825).

[3] *English Review*, x, 73, 74 and 60 (1848).

[4] Browne, Bishop of Ely, *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles* (London, 1856), p. 757.

nected it with the revival of monastic orders. Taylor attacked the monks of the ancient church as well as the celibates in general. He regarded the one as dangerous as the other. Some of his opponents, however, admit the existence of celibacy in the primitive church but deny the presence of real monks and nuns.[1] To the Tractarian mind the desideratum was the formation of communities of celibate priests.

When did this desire first arouse interest in the nineteenth century? Mr. Bennett, one of the Oxford School, said of the revival of monasteries: "Previous to 1833 there was not an idea of such a thing as possible except in connection with the Church of Rome." [2] On the other hand a member of an Anglican monastic community now alive, speaking of the same thing, said, "In many ways it would be true to state that the Evangelical movement gave the spirit, and the Catholic movement the form, for this revival." [3] Which view is correct? As has been shown, the monastic idea had never perished in England until chilled to death by the eighteenth century,[4] though since the French Revolution, the English soil had been prepared for its revival.[5] The personal piety, developed by the Evangelical Movement, fretted under the adverse conditions of church and society. The Evangelicals saw the need of something, while Southey and the High Churchmen of the third decade of the century had diagnosed that need and offered as a remedy reformed conventual orders, especially of women. But for the old orders, with all their monastic elements, there was neither

[1] *British Magazine*, xvii, 190 (1840).

[2] Bennett, *Some Results of the Tractarian Movement of 1833* (London, 1867), p. 20.

[3] Frere, *English Church Ways* (Milwaukee, 1914), p. 82.

[4] Chap. i.

[5] Chaps. ii and iii.

desire nor expectation. Both writers here quoted have, therefore, approximated the truth.

And yet in 1839 an advocate of revived monasteries said that he could find only three brief statements in favor of them in recent years.[1] One of these was by Sharon Turner in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons.*[2] A second was a letter in the *British Magazine* some two years before,[3] which "was coldly received." And lately he had heard that Froude had treated it in his *Remains.* Taylor in the same year bears witness to the comparative silence.[4] For six years, therefore, the Tractarians had not pushed the issue of monasticism; but the question had been in their minds.

Just as the theory of celibacy found its chief promoter in Froude, so does monasticism go back to the same source. In his letter to Newman, August 31, 1833, he wrote, "It has lately come into my head that the present state of things in England makes an opening for reviving the monastic system. I think of putting the view forward under the title of *A Project for Reviving Religion in Great Towns.* Certainly colleges of unmarried priests (who might of course retire to a living when they could and liked) would be the cheapest possible way of providing effectively for the spiritual wants of a large population. . . . I must go about the country to look for the stray sheep of the true fold; there are many about, I am sure; only that odious Protestantism sticks in people's gizzards." [5]

Whether Newman was influenced by Froude in his monastic ideas as in his attitude toward celibacy, it is difficult

[1] Wackerbarth, *Revival of Monastic Institutions,* preface, p. x.
[2] Vol. iii, p. 491; *cf. supra.*
[3] Probably Newman's, 1835-1836.
[4] *Ancient Christianity,* i, 60.
[5] Guiney, *Hurrell Froude,* p. 122. *Cf.* Froude, *Remains,* i, 322.

to say. In his earlier expressions on the single life, he did not mention the need of monastic orders. But in 1835 he was as strong for them as was Froude. His article in the *British Magazine* was the first public utterance of the Tractarians in behalf of a monastic revival.[1] He admitted the corruption of monasticism, but it was "a corruption of what is in itself good." The monastic life he regarded "as holding a real place in the dispensation of the gospel, at least providentially." [2] The religious temper of the times is against monasticism, but in this it is "not like that of the primitive church." [3] Apart from the Scriptural basis, there were in Newman's mind three chief reasons for reviving monasteries. These were: (1) The maintenance of truth, as in the primitive time; (2) The protection against the "Socinianizing of our hierarchy," which seemed threatened; and (3) The checking of schism by giving an outlet for devotional spirits.[4]

After Newman had published this first article, he began to wonder if he had not gone too far. In July, 1835, he wrote to Froude:

I have at present some misgivings whether I have not been too bold in the June Magazine on the subject of Monasticism. . . . I doubt whether I am not burdening my well-wishers with too heavy a load when I oblige them to take up and defend these opinions, too. You see the ground taken, as far as I am concerned, by our *fautores* in many quarters, is that of my not being a party man or peculiar in any sense. Now some one has told me that in defending Monasticism, I have become peculiar. I can but throw myself in answer upon the General Church, and avow (as I do) that if any one will show me any opinion of mine which the Primitive Church condemned, I

[1] VII, 662 *et seq.* (June, 1835).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 663.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 662.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 663-664.

will renounce it; any which it did not insist on, I will not insist on it. Yet, after all, I am anxious about it, and shall draw in my horns.[1]

Froude, as one might expect, was not so timid. He saw no cause for worry. He replies: "As to your Monasticism articles in the *British Magazine,* my father read the offensive part in the June one and could see nothing in it that any reasonable person could object to; and some persons I know have been struck by them." [2]

The desire of Froude and Newman was shared by Pusey. This new ally, who was to be so active in the monastic revival, was a married man himself. The practical value of religious communities seemed to strike him before the theoretical or spiritual argument for the monastic life. On July 19, 1838, Pusey wrote to Newman: "I hope Wood, etc., are not aground with their plan for colleges of twelve clergy in our large towns." [3] That these were to be celibate priests in Pusey's opinion, is shown in another letter to Newman. "The more I think of Froude's plan, the more it seems to me the only one if anything is to be done for our large towns. I had come to the same conclusion for missionaries that they ought not to be married men." [4] The short life of Froude seems an unimportant incident in the religious or social history of England; but in the history of the monastic revival it is then seen to be almost epoch-making.

Before 1839 the opinions of these three men on monasticism were apparently not shared very generally. Newman's article in the *British Magazine* admitted that the temper of

[1] Mozley, *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman,* ii, 112.
[2] Guiney, p. 182.
[3] Liddon, *Life of Pusey,* 4 vols. (London, 1893-1898), ii, 37.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 37; *cf.* "Letter of Newman to Keble," Nov. 21, 1838, in Mozley, *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman,* ii, 268.

the times was against it,[1] and his letter to Froude reveals some opposition by his own colleagues.[2] A year later the *British Magazine* speaks of "the horror with which everything like monastic institutions has been looked upon in this country since the time of the dissolution." [3] The Magazine adds: "It is true that, amid the universal clamor, a single voice has been heard at intervals attempting to show that such foundations were not an unmixed evil . . . ; but there is another view of such establishments which the boldest apologists of the monastic system seem hardly ever to have entertained; and that is, the desirableness and practicability of their restoration, to a limited extent, and in a modified form, as an appendage to the Church of England." But much as this Tractarian writer [4] desires the revival of the monasteries, he does not hope for more than the vision of their rise "till loss of property turns the thoughts of the clergy and others from this world to the next." [5] Another obstacle was the popular prejudice that monasticism is a characteristic of Roman Catholicism. The people believe this because "our generation has not yet learned the distinction between Popery and Catholicism." [6]

In the agitation for monasticism proper, as well as for celibacy, the year 1839 is a turning-point. What had been more or less secret and anonymous before, now became open and avowed. To Taylor, with his *Ancient Christianity,* it seems should be ascribed the credit for raising celibacy to a public issue. He had also an important effect on the discussion of monasticism for he treated these subjects to-

[1] VII, 662 (June, 1835); *cf.* Wackerbarth, *op. cit.,* preface, p. x.

[2] *Cf. supra,* p. 76; *cf.* "Letter of Hugh James Rose, Jan., 1838," in Guiney, *Hurrell Froude.*

[3] X, 310 *et seq.* (1836).

[4] Probably Newman.

[5] *British Magazine,* ix, 367.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 369.

gether. But to his name should be added another. In the same year there appeared a book by Francis D. Wackerbarth, an Anglican curate. Boldly did it declare its aim in its title, *The Revival of Monastic Institutions.*[1] Apparently this work did not attract as wide attention as *Ancient Christianity.* Its effect therefore on others is uncertain; the fact of its publication and the definiteness of its argument, however, are significant.

The first plea which he makes for the revival of monasteries is that they will serve to check the civil power and to make the church more commensurate with the nation. In this he has the typical Tractarian fear of the governmental domination over the church. The causes for that fear he sees in "the apostate, infidel and blaspheming cabinet, a population mad for organic change, a popish and infidel majority in the Commons, a corrupted, profligate and worthless literature, rampant fury and shameless demand for unlimited plunder on the part of the sectaries, and a rebellious association spreading over the length and breadth of the land, and apparently in a very close connection with the government." [2] With such dangers to face, the Church is generally felt to need something more adequate and aggressive than the parochial system.[3] That more effective agency is to be found in the monastic orders.

A second need of their revival, as he sees it, is to check schism and heresy. The number of schismatics is appalling.[4] They are the support of the irreligious government.

[1] *The Revival of Monastic Institutions, and their bearing upon society, considered with reference to the present condition of the Anglican Church* (Colchester, 1839). For information concerning Wackerbarth *cf. Catholic Encyclopedia,* vi, 423. He entered the Roman Church in 1841.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 6-7.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 6.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 10.

Aided by the Tridentine sectaries, they command all the measures of the Melbourne Cabinet, which is on the verge of bankruptcy and needs the church property.[1] Some of these who leave the Anglican communion are attracted by the seeming piety of other sects. "Is it not undeniable that many more devotional spirits separate from our Communion and that of the Dissenters to enter such retreats (i. e. monasteries), even though belonging to the Tridentine sectaries? Does not even common prudence teach us that some effort is necessary to counteract the working of the Romish monasteries?[2] Therefore the Anglican Church must provide some vent for the devotion of such individuals. This would be done by the establishment of Anglican monastic institutions which would give quiet communion, study and piety.[3]

The third argument which Wackerbarth gives is the same as that of Froude and Pusey, viz. monastic orders would help to evangelize the great cities. Dissent flourishes best in large towns for three reasons. First, money is more available there to support the Dissenters' work. Second, the priests of the Anglican Church are overburdened by the numbers. In some parishes, as for instance that of Bethnal Green, there are 30,000 to 70,000 people under one man. Third, the inhabitants are vitiated by that imperfect kind of semi-education, which keeps them from knowing their own ignorance.[4] This difficult problem of the cities can not be solved by the church in its present state. "The merciless plundering of the church which formed the principal feature and mainspring of the Reformation, left her in possession of what the most brazen Protestantism will hardly dare to call more than barely sufficient for the exigencies of that

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

time." [1] Hence now it is wholly outgrown by the population. One remedy often proposed is to divide the parishes. But the livings are too small to be divided.[2] That colleges of unmarried priests would be of incalculable help, by their economy of living, in checking the evils of the cities is shown by the fact that Cathedral towns are better than others.[3]

A fourth and very practical argument for monasteries is that they would be a boon to general education. The principal defect of modern education is in the religious and moral department.[4] Schools conducted by monastic clergy of high learning would have religion for their primary object.[5] In Wackerbarth's mind the Catholic faith must be the background for education.[6]. Monastic colleges could support themselves by charging a moderate tuition.[7] How powerful and efficient they could become can be seen from a study of Stonyhurst College.[8] Its progress and growth have been remarkable even under the austerity and evils of the Romish system. The dangers of the Roman Catholic system are due to the Pope's exemption of certain abbeys from episcopal jurisdiction.[9] This would be avoided in the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 26. This chapter would be of interest to the present advocates of religious education.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[8] P. 27. The reference to Stonyhurst College confirms the thesis of Chap. ii that the return of the Roman Catholics to England during and after the French Revolution had a bearing on the Anglican monastic revival. Significant also is it that Wackerbarth takes his account of Stonyhurst from the Tractarian organ, *The British Critic*, xxv, 159-162.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Anglican scheme, for the bishop's decision over the monasteries would be final.[1]

The fifth reason which the writer gives is practical and somewhat similar to the one preceding. Monasteries would be depositories of ecclesiastical learning and the means of consolidating the teaching efforts of the clergy. The High Churchism of the author is shown when he says that the chief function of the Church is not to lead men into the paths of virtue and religion, nor the dissemination of religious knowledge, but the preservation of the sacred body of divine truth.[2] At present this is not being done. The parochial clergy have little time for study and theology.[3] In seeking popularity they often forget authority and therefore lead to schism.[4] Of this there is little hope of check by the bishops for they are appointed by the Government and therefore divided.[5] The remedy lies in the revival of monasteries and the multiplication of cathedral bodies. These would moderate, control, and unite the parochial ministry. They would have a beneficial effect on their taste and thinking by affording the parochial clergy places for retreat and study.[6]

Wackerbarth mentions other lesser advantages of monasteries, such as their beneficial effect on church music by their choral services.[7] But he shows his fundamental interest throughout to be the checking of the civil power. For this it is necessary that the clergy should be better known and loved. Monasteries would contribute to this in the poorer districts by giving the clergy more time to know their people; and in the richer sections, by their influence on learning and the mingling of the clergy in society.[8] Having

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

thus won the people, the Church might obtain a permanent influence on both Houses of Parliament, revive convocations and put a partial stop to the continual system of plundering church possessions.[1]

The exact relation of Wackerbarth to the Tractarians is not known. His preface indicates that he had little acquaintance with them,[2] but his fear of the government and his desire to check it are seen to be identical with theirs. Thus this comparatively obscure writer voiced openly and specifically that which they had discussed more or less in private. From this time on, the subject of monastic revival becomes an open one. It should be noted that this outspoken advocate of the religious life does not stand for irrevocable vows. "I do not mean," he says, "that they (the monks) should be bound by any indissoluble vow of celibacy, but simply that as long as they continued in the society they should remain single." [3] It should also be observed that his arguments are practically all utilitarian in nature. Now that the ice is broken in this rather safe manner, it will be interesting to watch the development in argument and theory concerning monasteries.

SEC. III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MONASTIC IDEALS 1839-45

It was natural that the argument of practical utility should be the first one stressed by the advocates of monastic orders. Such a plea is always good to catch the public ear. Especially appropriate was it at this time for the Church conditions were arousing considerable attention. *The Churchman* in 1840, reviewing a speech on "How are the spiritual wants of our overgrown and ever increasing

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[2] P. x.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

population to be supplied?" [1] characterized it as an eloquent address on one of the most important themes of the time. It gives us great pleasure to observe the deep interest which this subject is exciting in all parts of the country." [2] It was seen that the church had not kept pace with the growing and changing population. More and better disciplined clergy were needed.[3] There was no depreciation of the parochial system; "but to it in large overgrown towns, we would add a Monastic Institute." [4] As early as 1839 the *British Critic* said: "We envy the lot of him who may have boldness to make trial of associating a number of young men as a collegiate body, for the cheaper supply of an efficient ministry to operate on these dense and dark masses of sin and ignorance, to live with him, not tied by vows, but purposing in their hearts by God's grace, not to entangle themselves in the affairs of this life, that they may the more devote themselves to this great work." [5]

Of the utilitarian arguments this one of social service seems to have been the chief. Great pains were taken to

[1] *Speech by the Rev. Thomas Page* (London, Seeley).

[2] P. 102. Further evidences of this interest are seen in: *Report of the Speeches delivered at a Public meeting of the friends of the Established Church. Extracted from the Newcastle Journal,* Feb. 22, 1834 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1834).

Molesworth, *Letter to Lord Bishop of Chester* (London, 1841).

The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems, by Anglo-Catholicus (London, 1843).

Letters to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, by a Parishioner (1843).

The Real Causes of Papal Aggression (London, 1851).

Hook, *Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's* (London, 1846).

Sumner, *A Charge to the Clergy of Winchester* (London, 1850).

Sandford, *The Mission and Extension of the Church at Home* (London, 1862).

[3] *Real Causes of Papal Aggression,* p. 9.

[4] *The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems,* p. 5.

[5] *British Critic,* xxvi, 457 (Oct., 1839).

show that the monastic life is not destructive and unsocial, but practical and constructive.[1] Its hospitals, orphanages and schools were cited. Monasticism gives definite specific objects of charitable activity.[2] The nuns are not more secluded than other single women;[3] and instead of the religious life's making women idle, it gives them dignity and usefulness.[4] To the value of the active life the monastic system adds the great principle of association which has been so effective in the Christian church.[5] The dire need of some remedy for the spiritual destitution of the manufacturing population is shown by "the practical protest of Chartism, Infidelity, Dissent and Socialism."[6] It was a strong argument for monasteries that they would help to restore the unbelieving masses of the city to the bosom of the Church.

Other arguments of practical utility were cited. Pusey thought monks would be valuable collators of manuscripts, as in S. Jerome's time.[7] The poor clergy, who individually can not afford libraries, would have access to good ones in the very houses they inhabit.[8] The study of ecclesiastical law, which is greatly needed, would be encouraged.[9] The monastic choral services, of which Wackerbarth, had spoken were again praised.[10] In short, it was the active practical

[1] *Ibid.*, xxxi, 397-398 (Apr., 1842).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 399.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 396.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 398; *cf. The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems*, pp. 27 *et seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 372-373.
[6] *The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems*, p. 3. *Cf.* Faulkner, *Chartism and the Churches* (New York, 1916).
[7] Letter of Pusey to J. R. Hope-Scott, June 13, 1841, in Ormsby, *Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott*, 2 vols. (London, 1884), i, 264.
[8] *The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems*, p. 9.
[9] *British Critic*, xxxiii, 406 (April, 1843).
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 395.

side of the religious life which was first emphasized, and very wisely so.

But into this view of the social value of monasteries, there was creeping the ascetic element. The *British Critic* conceived of monasticism as produced by a concurrence of the principles of aggregation and asceticism. The first goes back to apostolic times. Therefore monasticism is apostolical in its essence.[1] W. G. Ward, one of the most advanced of the High Churchmen, started with the social need of remedying the conditions of the poor, but found the model in the Roman Catholic Church. It is the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola which in Ward's opinion forms the basis and furnishes the required self-discipline.[2] In him we find the mingling of the social and the ascetic elements. Ward also advanced to the point of advocating vows of celibacy.[3] He did not stand alone in modelling his scheme after the Roman Catholic orders. If any one has thought that the return of the Romanist monasteries had no effect on the Anglican revival, let him read the words of another advocate. "In the heart of England, amidst the din of manufacture, in the very head-quarters of Chartism, within sight of democratic Loughborough, are the gentle Cistercians of Mount Mellorie doing much to reclaim the savage hearts of men, from the Infidelity, the Socialism, the Chartism, into which the in-

[1] XXXIII, 390 (Apr., 1844); *cf.* Taylor, *Ancient Christianity*. This does not mean, however, that the religious life necessarily involves irrevocable vows and perpetual celibacy, "which are matters extrinsic and purely accidental to the subject whereof we are treating, and which would be required to be treated of at greater length." *British Critic*, xxxiii, 390 (Apr., 1843).

[2] Ward, *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (London, 1844), p. 80 *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

efficiency of our parochial system had, if not plunged, at least suffered them to fall.[1]

That the advocates of monasticism were tending more and more toward Romish practices is quite clear. William Palmer, one of the prime movers of the Oxford Movement,[2] wrote in 1843 that the authors of the Tracts had been opposed to the Roman customs, but that "within the last two or three years, however, a new school has made its appearance." [3] "Invocation of saints is sanctioned in some quarters; . . . celibacy of the clergy and auricular confession are acknowledged to be obligatory. Besides this, intimacies are formed with Romanists, and visits are paid to Romish monasteries, colleges and houses of worship." [4] Of this new school the *British Critic* was the chief organ.[5]

This magazine, as has been seen, emphasized the social value of the active monastic orders; but it did not conceal its admiration for the contemplative life. "Let this be well considered; let it be observed whether those who are so loud in their protests on the uselessness of a life of seclusion, believe in any true sense the efficacy of intercessory prayer. . . . Have there ever been times of zealous self-devotion in the cause of benevolence and humanity which have not been also times of retirement and contemplation." [6] It believes the contemplative Catholic has done more for charity than the active Protestant. This is shown in the Sisters of Charity, for instance.[7] The danger to the

[1] *The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems,* p. 26.
[2] Overton, *The Anglican Revival* (London, 1897), p. 112.
[3] Palmer, *A Narrative of Events,* p. 52.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 53.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 55.
[6] *British Critic,* xxx, 317 (Oct., 1841).
[7] *Ibid.,*

Church at present is not so much from coldness as from ill-directed warmth. The Church is awake but it is feared that many of her best children are driven into extravagance and even into schism because their religious warmth is uncontrolled.[1] Such enthusiasts need a school of Christian penitence and that is furnished by the contemplative life of the monasteries.[2] It adds: "Of what use are the contemplative orders? If persons understood well the meaning of the Communion of Saints, they would not make the inquiry. The weapons of the Church are fasts and prayers; but the world has encroached upon her. . . . It is well then that some should pray while others are fighting." [3] The Critic recognizes that the majority of Englishmen are opposed to the contemplative life.[4] Therefore "until it shall please God to enable the Church to make use of this great engine we must all wait in patience, and keep fast and festival at home. In the meantime it may be useful to point out the virtues of the monastic state, for they are in reality those of all Christians, carried to a very high degree." [5] Consequently the writer proceeds to extol the virtues of the Abbess of Port Royal and her nuns, who observed strict vows and were very ascetic. All these characteristics were praised.[6] Thus the extreme High Churchmen, represented by the *British Critic* [7] have

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxxi, 400-401 (1842).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 367; *cf.* xxxiv, 39 (July, 1843).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 316.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 368.

[6] Would not the following definition sound appropriate in a Roman Catholic publication: "A monastery is a light set upon a hill, ever burning to remind Christians that they are not to be merely honest and quiet members of society, but that they are called upon to live a supernatural life, with bodies mortified and souls ever turned to praise" (*British Critic*, xxx, 367)?

[7] Thomas Mozley had succeeded Newman as editor in 1841. His

advanced to the purely Roman monasticism. How far they are beyond Southey! How far beyond even Froude, who wanted no irrevocable vows! Palmer attributed their Romish position to their "doctrine of development," which makes all mediæval Christianity necessary.[1] This doctrine, he thought, was derived from de Maistre and Möhler.[2]

The position of this extreme wing is interesting, but there were two men whose attitudes are of more importance. These men were Newman and Pusey. Upon their leadership depended the fruition of the schemes. Palmer, one of Newman's colleagues said that the *British Critic* had made its dangerous advances toward Romish practices since passing from Newman's editorship in 1841.[3] What then was Newman's position? The reasons which Newman gave for desiring some sort of monastic institutions in the Anglican Church have been shown.[4] The question now is, what sort of institutions he desired. A letter back in 1839 shows that he was already looking at Roman institutions favorably, apparently from an aesthetic viewpoint. "I think," he said, "that whenever the time comes that secession to Rome takes place, for which we must not be unprepared, we must boldly say to the Protestant section of our church—'you are the cause of this; you must concede; . . . you must make the church . . . more equal to the external. Give us more services, more vestments and decorations in worship; give us monasteries. . . . Till

chief writers were Ward, Oakeley, Rogers, John Christie, James Mozley, Bawyer, Church, J. B. Morris, and others. Mozley, *Reminiscences chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement.* 2nd ed. (1882), ii, 217-219.

[1] Palmer, *A Narrative of Events,* p. 68.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 57. Note the connection with the Continental Catholic movements.

[3] Palmer, *A Narrative of Events,* p. 75.

[4] *Vide supra,* p. 76. *Cf. British Magazine,* vii, 662 *et seq.*

then you will have continual secessions to Rome.' " [1] He seemed constantly looking at Rome and trying to devise means of keeping men from that communion. The only remedy he could believe effective was to copy their institutions, as *e.g.* monasteries, which I used to say belonged to us as much as to Rome,[2] "I am almost in despair of keeping men together," he wrote in 1842. "The only possible way is a monastery. Men want an outlet for their devotional and penitential feelings, and if we do not grant it, to a dead certainty they will go where they can find it." [3] In a later chapter it will be seen that Newman set up a "monastery" at Littlemore, which may seem very unlike the Roman institutions. That this, however, did not represent the perfected idea of Newman but only the foundation is shown by this same letter: "Yet the clamor is so great and will be so much greater, that, if I persist, I expect (though I am not speaking from anything that has occurred) that I shall be stopped. Not that I have any intention of doing more at present than laying the foundation of what may be." [4] The praise which is bestowed upon the old monastic orders in the *Lives of the Saints* strengthens the theory that Newman desired the mediæval kind.[5]

In 1838 Pusey had confided to Newman his desire for

[1] Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, 2 vols. (London, 1895), i, 233.

[2] *Apologia pro sua Vita* (ed. 1897), p. 166.

[3] Letter to J. R. Hope-Scott, Jan. 3, 1842, in Ormsby, *Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott*, ii, 6.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] "Monastic Orders are the very life's blood of a Church, monuments of true apostolic Christianity, refuges of spirituality in the worst times, the nurseries of heroic bishops, the mothers of rough-handed and great-hearted missionaries. A church without monasteries is a body with its right arm paralyzed." *Life of S. Wilfrid*, pp. 62-63; quoted in the *British Magazine*, Jan., 1845, p. 12. *Cf.* Letter of Newman to J. R. Hope-Scott, Nov. 6, 1843, Ormsby, *op. cit.*, ii, 27.

colleges of celibate priests in the large cities. In those earlier days he seemed to have been a more or less theoretical follower of Newman and Froude in this matter. Even in 1840 he still looked to Newman as the leader. In reply to a letter from the latter, he said: "Certainly it would be a great relief to have a '*μονη*' in our Church in many ways, and you seem just the person to form one. . . . I hardly look to be able to avail myself of the '*μονη*' since I must be so busy when here on account of my necessary absences to see my children, unless indeed I should live long enough to be ejected from my Canonry, as of course, one must contemplate as likely if one does live, and then it would be happy retreat." [1] After his wife's death in 1839, Pusey gave more thought to the subject of monasteries.[2] His position in 1841 he declared quite explicitly: "As to monasticism I do not go further than Archbishop Leighton, in what he says about 'Retreats for men of mortified tempers,' which he regrets were lost at the Reformation. I have long strongly thought that we needed something of this sort; it is not Romanish, but primitive—B. Harrison, as well as others, think co-eval with Christianity; all minds are not formed in the same way nor need the same course of training. I think it would be a great blessing to our Church to have some such institutions, but this is no new view with me. . . . My visits to the convents at Dublin have not changed my views, except so far that I should not think now of any formal institution, but wish people quietly to form themselves." [3]

How Pusey went about the process of having people "quietly form themselves" into the religious life will be seen in the next chapter. But in the meantime it is inter-

[1] Liddon, *Life of Pusey*, ii, 137.
[2] *Cf. infra.*
[3] Liddon, *op. cit.*, ii, 271.

esting to note his progress toward Romish customs and asceticism. This progress is shown in the following letter: "I have two or three commissions for you. . . . It is for my little library of Roman Catholic works. . . . The general class is, as you know ascetic books, books of guidance, which shall give people knowledge of self, enable us to guide consciences. . . . I should be glad of any information on a subject which I know drew your thoughts when you were last abroad—the system as to retreats. . . . Perhaps also Dr. Döllinger could give you some information as to S. Ignatius Loyola's *Exercitia Spiritualia.*" [1] Pusey also desired to know about the Roman forms of penance and their use of the "Discipline," an instrument of "five cords each with five knots in memory of the wounds of our Lord." [2] He writes to Keble two years later that he is resuming "Hair Cloth" and is anxious to use the "Discipline" every night with Psalm 51.[3] Pusey's approximation to Roman Catholicism in his ideas of devotion and practices is seen also from the titles of his *Catholic Devotional Library.*[4]

The *British Critic,* Newman and Pusey may be said to represent fairly the advanced Tractarianism of this period. Hence it is seen that this party desired the revival of monasteries very similar to, if not identical with, the old Roman institutions. But they recognized that the way was not yet open. This need of patient preparation is voiced by John Mason Neale, a name to be heard frequently in later days. "Lest such an intention should appear pre-

[1] Letter of Pusey to J. R. Hope-Scott, Sept. 9, 1844. Ormsby, *op. cit.,* ii, 51.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 52-53.

[3] Liddon, *op. cit.,* iii, 99-108. Keble advised moderation in Pusey's ascetic habits.

[4] Browne, *Annals of the Tractarian Movement* (Dublin, 1856), 3rd ed. 1861, p. 64.

sumptuous, Mr. Neale expressly lays down as a sort of necessary condition before anything is done, that the general feelings of churchmen and the approbation of our ecclesiastical rulers shall have prepared the way for it." [1] How difficult that preparation will be remains now to be seen.[2]

SEC. IV. THE GENERAL INTEREST OF OTHER PARTIES IN THE MONASTIC REVIVAL

The *British Critic,* the organ of the advanced Tractarians, was succeeded in 1844 by the *English Review.* The tone of the new paper on the subject of monasteries was decidedly different. It admits that England is more familiar with the corruption of these institutions than with their excellence.[3] Therefore it does not recommend their revival.[4] However, it sees the social and religious needs which should be met and praises the educational work of the "Brothers of Christian Doctrine" in Paris.[5] It believes an effort should be made to accomplish similar objects in a manner different from the purely monastic and thus check the flood of the most ardent spirits to Rome. One effective means, as recommended by Wm. Sewell [6] and approved by the *Review,* would be an association of self-sacrificing men placed at the disposal of the bishop for the

[1] *British Critic,* xxxiv, 523 (Oct., 1843).

[2] In addition to the arguments used, as cited above, the advocates of monasticism sought to break down the English prejudice against an institution so Roman in appearance by appealing to the authority of the seventeenth century divines and antiquaries. Latimer, Bramhall, Thorndike, Tanner, Leighton, Fuller, Twysden, Spelman, Dugdale and Camden were all cited. *Cf. British Critic,* xxxii, 363 *et seq.* (Oct., 1842), and Anglo-Catholicus, *The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems,* p. 13 *et seq.*

[3] *English Review,* i, 413-414.

[4] *Cf.* ii, 445 (Dec., 1844).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Christian Politics* (London, 1844).

purpose of teaching the poor. They should have simple rules and dress and live in community life, but should not be a monastic order. Monasticism, Sewell said, was guilty of sins which in such a system find no place, as for instance withdrawal from episcopal control, abstract retirement, fanatical devotion, self-sacrifice become pride, selfish accumulation of wealth, political power, attachment to foreign influence, and enslavement by vows.[1] *The English Review* comments: "We are sure that every enlightened churchman would hail the institution of societies such as Mr. Sewell describes, purified from the various evils of the monastic system; but it is evident that under existing circumstances, they will not be very easily called into existence." [2]

In attempting to get the social effects without the monastic orders, this magazine makes a distinction between monasticism and the conventual system. The essence of the former is not celibacy, nor poverty, nor obedience, but according to St. Jerome it is solitude.[3] Therefore monasticism is not consistent with social work.[4] Its intention was frustrated by the conventual system and it is, therefore, self-destructive.[5] But the practical objects to be attained by monasteries, which are the education of the poor, distribution of alms, conversion of paganized millions, offering of asylums to learning, religion, widowhood and virginity, can be met by the apostolic orders of deacons and deaconesses.[6] These have been revived in Bavaria and among French Protestants.[7]

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 395-396.
[2] ii, 77 (Oct., 1844).
[3] ii, 429 (Dec., 1844).
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 432.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 434.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 448-449.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 450.

This attitude of recognizing needs and offering semi-monastic remedies was held in other quarters.[1] More open expression, however, was given in opposition to the whole monastic principle.[2] The general opinion of these opponents was that monasteries by their very nature tended to corruption. How widespread was the opposition to, or the support of, the monastic idea, it is difficult to say. A friend of the monasteries gives a glimpse. "Among the

[1] *E. g.*, "F. K." in *British Magazine*, xi, 163-165 (1837).

"G. H. T." in the *Guardian*, i, 569 (Nov. 18, 1846), proposed a society of religious persons called the "Fraternity of Holy Learning" or (like the similar French institution) the "Brethren of Christian Schools." There should be a solemn promise of devotion and obedience while within the pale, but no vows of perpetual celibacy. "Celibacy might be one of the requirements. Without this it is difficult to conceive an entire submission or a perfect state of discipline." The superiors should be the bishops, and the brothers, in part priests but chiefly deacons.

Dr. Thomas Arnold in *Christian Life, Its Course, Its Hindrances, and Its Helps* (London, 1845), Introduction, p. 56, said: "No wise man doubts that the Reformation was imperfect, or that in the Romish system there were many good institutions and practices and feelings which it would be most desirable to restore among ourselves. Daily church services, frequent communions; . . . religious orders, especially of women, of different kinds and under different rules, delivered only from the snare and sin of perpetual vows; all these . . . would be purely beneficial."

[2] *E. g.*, *The Churchman*, ii, 42-43 (1836); iii, 140 (1837).

The Church of England Magazine, xiii, 136 (1842); and xvi, 360 (1844).

The Church and State Gazette, ii, 507.

The Times—as quoted in *The Guardian*, i, 516-517 (Dec. 9, 1846).

The Edinburgh Review, lxxxii, 130 (July, 1845); lxxxiii, 83 (Jan., 1846); cxiv, 319 (Oct., 1861).

Also some High Churchmen expressed themselves very emphatically in opposition: *e. g.*, Palmer, *A Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times* (Oxford, 1843), p. 80.

Cf. Liddon, *Life of Pusey*, ii, 269, Letter of Rev. E. Churton to his friend Pusey.

Another anti-monastic writer and speaker was Michael H. Seymour, author of *"A Pilgrimage to Rome*, 1848.

changes which the last five years have wrought in public opinion, none is more remarkable than the alteration of its tone with respect to Religious Houses, and their suppression in the sixteenth century. The lighter literature, that weathercock which veers with every change of popular breath, amply proves the fact. . . . Now the suppression is lamented as an irreparable blow to literature, or an irrevocable loss to the poor." [1]

However reliable this statement may be as to the opposition or support, it is more important to know how great was the interest in the subject. There are many evidences of its considerable extent in the period from 1840 to 1845. The "lighter literature" just mentioned is a pretty good indication of popularity. A number of novels appeared about this time with plots turning on monastic events.[2] If historical works can be cited as indicating a popular interest, there are several to be noted.[3] Another evidence

[1] Introduction to the edition of Spelman, *The History and Fate of Sacrilege,* published in 1846, p. 11.

[2] Sherwood, Mrs. (the author of *The Nun*), *The Monk of Cimies* (London, 1837). It shows a boy reared in a High Church home, who became a Roman Catholic monk, and later turned to Evangelicalism. It gained sufficient popularity to be reviewed by the *British Critic,* July, 1837.

Geraldine. A novel centered around conventual life. It reached its third edition by 1841. *Cf. British Critic,* xxix, 491 (April, 1841).

Neale, *Ayton Priory: or The Restored Monastery* (London, 1843).

[3] *E. g., Chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelond* (published by the Camden Society, 1840). This was popularized by Carlyle in his *Past and Present.*

Wright, *Three Chapters of Letters on the Suppression of Monasteries* (published by the Camden Society, 1843).

Digby, *Mores Catholici.* Volume x is devoted to monasteries. This is praised by *British Critic,* xxxiii, 367 and 410 (April, 1843).

Fox, *Monks and Monasteries,* 1845. Under the guise of history, it is really an argument for the revival of monasteries. It aims to show the error by which obloquy has fallen upon these institutions.

of interest in this subject is the space given by the periodicals. Citations from these have been made. Enlightening also is the statement of a paper hostile to monasteries. "We propose to devote a series of papers to the investigation and illustration of the Monastic Institution that existed in England; the subject, we think, will be an acceptable one to the readers of the Churchman." [1]

But there was one man of outstanding prominence who did much to popularize the subject of monastic life. This was Thomas Carlyle. It is interesting to note the opinion of a modern Anglican monastic journal as to Carlyle's influence:

> There must be very many whose sympathy with the Monastic life was first aroused by the picture of it which is presented in the second part of Thomas Carlyle's *Past and Present*. The curious chance which put into Carlyle's hands the Camden Society's edition of the original text of *Jocelyn's Chronicle*, and which led him to see in the person of the Abbot Samson a character from whom the nineteenth century Englishman might learn not a little, has had some effects of which he never dreamed. But so it is. *Past and Present* gave to the general reader in 1843 a picture of the inner life of a community of the twelfth century, which had hitherto been known only to the antiquary.[2]

Carlyle praised the usefulness of the active monastic life. He testified to the popularity of the subject when he said: "We have heard so much of monks, everywhere in real and fictitious history." [3] But he did not believe the old

For other books see those reviewed in *English Review*, ii, 424 (Dec., 1844).

[1] *The Churchman*, 1841, pp. 52-53.

[2] Day, E. Hermitage, in *Pax*, Dec., 1908, p. 126.

[3] *Past and Present*, bk. ii, ch. i, p. 44. In *Carlyle's Complete Works*, University ed., vol. iv.

monastic orders could be revived. "No monk of the old sort is any longer possible in this world," he said.[1]

Perhaps the best statement of the popular interest in monasteries is to be found in that mouth-piece of the moderate High Churchman, the *English Review*.[2] It tells how many circumstances have wrought gradually on certain minds until it seems in some quarters that there would be little difficulty in restoring the old exact monastic forms. Among these circumstances it mentions the following: (1) The tendency of the age to shake off principles and prejudices alike; (2) Reaction against narrow and unjust views of the monastic system; (3) Thirst for something beyond the self-indulgent religion of the day; (4) The natural tendency of the human heart toward modes of religion which are not prescribed in Scripture, but which exceed its requirements; (5) Attractiveness to the imagination of systems surrounded by the solemn associations of sanctity, and lofty endurance, and silence, mystery and hoar antiquity; (6) The romance which breathes throughout the monastic system; (7) Its aestheticism; (8) The very remains more beautiful in decay than in their perfection, which tell of sacred and holy things brought down to the dust without compunction or mercy. So rapidly have these influences broken down the old opposition to monasticism, the *Review* thinks the present generation may see the friars and the great monasteries restored.[3] But powerful as are these appeals for the old monastic forms, far more people want "reformed monasteries, the members of which shall not be bound by vows of celibacy, or of perpetual continuance in the monastic state." Their chief function would be the evangelization of the large cities.[4]

It is interesting to note also the varied appeal which

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] ii, 424 (Dec., 1844).
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

conventual institutions made to individuals. "To some they present themselves as retreats from the cares and anxieties of life—to others, as affording opportunity for penitence and mortification,—to others, as the habitations of learning and intellectual enjoyment,—to others, as the pathway to heroic and saintly acts of piety and devotion,—to others, as the most effectual mode of evangelizing the heathen, gathering the outcasts into the fold of the Church, instructing the young in the truths of religion, and distributing to the necessities of those in affliction and sickness." [1]

Having seen this wide interest and varied appeal, one is prepared now to hear of the actual attempts. He is not surprised to read: "Already we have had definite plans for the revival of monasteries . . . ; and we have even heard occasional reports of negotiations for the purchase of sites for the intended institutions." [2]

SEC. V. DEFINITE PLANS FOR REVIVAL

In planning to revive monastic institutions, there was some question as to their legality. The Disabilities Act (10 Geo. IV, c. 7) had prohibited Roman Catholic religious orders bound by vows, except the orders of women.[3] This Act of course said nothing about monastic orders in the English Church for such were not seriously contemplated at that time. Hence the *English Review* was correct in saying: "There is no legal impediment, and no actual prohibition by the Canons of the Church." [4] There was one law, however, whose repeal or modification was regarded as desirable, namely, the Mortmain Act of 1736. Its repeal would open the way for private charity, which built the monasteries and cathedrals of the past and, as

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 428.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 428.
[3] *Cf. The Bulwark*, i, 149.
[4] ii, 448 (Dec., 1844).

was believed, would gladly do so again.[1] To this end the advocates of monasticism desired that petitions from clergy and laity be sent to Parliament.[2] In addition to the repeal of this law, it was desired to provide for the revival of Convocation.[3]

Even this legislation was not deemed essential by all. Newman was aware how the Rosminian nuns (Roman Catholic) were evading the Mortmain Act by vesting the property legally in the name of a member, while really it was at the disposal of the General.[4] Therefore, even under existing legal and social conditions monasteries were entirely feasible. They could be established with very little trouble or expense; and if they would engage in manufactures, a body of 20 or 30 monks could not only maintain itself but might distribute alms besides.[5] "Indeed," said the organ of the moderates, "we have little doubt that were St. Anthony or St. Bernard to revisit the earth, they would lose no time in establishing factories of this kind, in which labor would not be disproportional to strength, childhood would be instructed, and the means of extensive almsgiving would be supplied."[6] This magazine, which had repudiated the mediæval monastic system, seemed to indorse the active practical orders. It admitted, however, that monasticism never seems to exist for more than one generation in purity.[7]

Convinced of the legality and feasibility of monasteries, their advocates lost no time in preparing concrete plans.

[1] *The Monastic and Manufacturing Systems,* p. 35.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 35.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 35.
[4] Pattison, *Memoirs* (London, 1885), pp. 192-193. Diary for Sunday, Oct. 1, 1843, at Littlemore.
[5] *English Review,* ii, 440 (Dec., 1844).
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 441.
[7] *Ibid.,* p. 441 *et seq.*

"A party following the advice of Lord John Manners, determined to found a monastery of married and unmarried monks, and selected as their site a small village in Suffolk; the unmarried Fathers were to take 'Bachelor's' vows, regarding 'celibacy, as it really is, as a higher state,' and that 'there are surely duties enough in the church where celibacy may have its proper place.'" [1] A paper, taken from the *Church Intelligencer* was widely circulated among the Oxford party. Its title gives its purpose: *Revival of Monastic and conventual Institutions on a plan adapted to the exigencies of the Reformed Catholic Church in England.*[2] The quotations at its beginning are selected from varied types of writers.[3] In its preamble, it says: "It is a question which must long have presented itself to reflecting Christians, 'In what way the general interests of the Church and the Christian education of her people may be best promoted; and by what means a remedy may be best provided for many of the evils—social, domestic, and personal—arising out of the present disordered state of our civil and ecclesiastical relations.?'" [4] It suggests as "perhaps the best model for such establishments (mutatis mutandis) the monastery of Port Royal des Champs as described by Mrs. Schimmelpeninck, in her edifying *Memoirs of Port Royal.*" [5]

The objects of such a revival the paper states as follows:

"(1) To widen and deepen the legitimate influence of the Church, by exhibiting a model of her system as fully carried out and reduced to actual practice.

[1] Browne, *Annals of the Tractarian Movement* (London, 1861), p. 92.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[3] *Vide* Appendix, iii.

[4] Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

"(2) To promote and conduct Christian education upon Church principles.

"(3) To afford a retreat for the contemplative, the bereaved, the destitute, and the embarrassed.

"(4) To cherish a spirit of devotion, charity, humility, and obedience.

"(5) To give better opportunities of acquiring self-knowledge and exercising penitence.

"(6) To promote simplicity and godly sincerity in the intercourse of life.

"(7) To revive plainness and self-denial in diet, dress, furniture, etc.

"(8) To form habits of retirement, silence, and recollection." [1]

The means by which the above objects are to be attained are also explicitly stated.

"(1) A system of community where the superabundance of the wealthier might be made available to the support of the poorer members.

"(2) Daily public devotion and frequent communion agreeably to the order of the Church.

"(3) Strict observance of Festivals, Fasts, etc., prescribed in Book of Common Prayer.

"(4) A Rule for dress, diet, furniture, recreation, etc.

"(5) Appointed time for silence and subjects of meditation.

"(6) Corporal and spiritual works of mercy.

"(7) Exercising penitence and obedience.

"(8) Bodily and mental labor—particularly in educating the young, composing works to meet the necessities of the Church, working for the poor, and assisting in the various duties of the establishment." [2]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

In conclusion it may be well to measure the advance made. It is easy to see how much more "monastic" were the theories of the extreme Tractarians, and even these published plans, than those of Southey, the chief advocate of religious orders before the Oxford Movement. He had no place for penitence, contemplation, mortification and the other marks of mediæval monasticism. He thought only of the practical social services to be rendered to a suffering people and the necessarily idle women. In 1844 we have Southey's social arguments retained, but many of these purely monastic elements added. Moreover, these conventual communities were advocated not merely for women, as in Southey's articles, but for both sexes.[1] This introduction of the purely monastic elements and this extension of application to both men and women were the contribution of the Oxford party, or rather of the extremists of that group.

[1] Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

CHAPTER V

The Beginning of Sisterhoods

SEC. I. THE FIRST STEPS

The advocates of monasticism among the Oxford School desired religious orders of both sexes. If a comparison of emphases were to be made, the arguments of the last chapter seemed to aim more at monasteries than at nunneries. In fact the greatest of the Oxford leaders endeavored to establish a "monastery" as early as 1840.[1] Nevertheless religious orders of women were successfully started almost two decades before those of men. Why?

The answer to this question will probably become apparent as the account of the Sisterhood work progresses; but some indications may be given here. First of all, it should be noted that this movement had a broader basis in authority than the Brotherhoods. It is commonly credited to the Oxford School.[2] Some even limit it to Pusey and his particular followers.[3] But there seems more semblance of truth in the statement that "although usually credited to the 'Oxford School,' the Sisterhood movement forms a part of a far wider change affecting the position, in-

[1] *Cf.* ch. vi.

[2] *Cf.* Overton, *The Anglican Revival* (London, 1897), p. 219. Kelway, *The Story of the Catholic Revival* (London, 1914). *Edinburgh Review,* xcviii, 307 (1853).

[3] *Cf.* Cruttwell, *Six Lectures on the Oxford Movement and Its Results on the Church of England* (London, 1899), pp. 134-136. Spencer, *Papal Aggressions Aided and Encouraged by Tractarian Movements. A Sermon* (Devonport, 1850), p. 13.

dependence, training and responsibilities of educated English women." [1] That the intimate connection of the Oxford leaders would give rise to the belief that they were its authors, will be seen later. But this account has shown the agitation for orders of women before the Tractarian movement of 1833. It has been seen that such non-Tractarians as Thomas Arnold [2] and Robert Southey were desirous to have Sisters in the English Church. In later years friends of Sisterhoods were to appeal to these two men as their authorities, some without even mentioning the Oxford School.[3] Moreover the first of these institutions was planned as a memorial to Southey. Hence it seems safe to conclude that Anglican Sisterhoods are indebted to the Oxford School for their form, but not for their original impulse. And it was the fact that they could appeal to authority wider than the Tractarian movement which helped them to secure a foothold earlier than the Brotherhoods, whose advocates were more limited.

A second factor which aided the early establishment of Sisterhoods was the growing interest in woman's social and industrial position. This interest probably had more to do with aiding the progress of the movement a decade after its beginning, but it had already been felt for some time, especially after the Napoleonic Wars.[4] Newman, in his memorable article of 1835, advocated religious orders of women on the ground that they would "give dignity and independence to the position of women in society." [5]

[1] Davidson and Benham, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, i, 449 (London, 1891).

[2] *Christian Life; Its Course, Its Hindrances, and Its Helps* (London, 1845), Introduction, p. 56.

[3] Seymour, in his Speech in Convocation, *Chronicle of Convocation* (1861-1863), p. 838.

[4] *Vide supra*, ch. iii.

[5] *British Magazine*, vii, 667 (June, 1835).

He added, "As matters stand marriage is the sole shelter which a defenceless portion of the community has against the rude world." [1] And since the women so far outnumbered the men in those years, many were thus left without even that questionable shelter. Thus communities for women could make a wide social, as well as a religious, appeal. Newman recognized this distinction. "This treatise," he wrote, " is addressed to women as well as men; religious sisterhoods being as much demanded in the model of a perfect church by Christian charity, as monastic fraternities by zeal." [2] The Oxford School felt the need of renewed zeal and therefore of Brotherhoods; but the whole church was beginning to recognize the demands of charity, and consequently was more receptive to the orders of women. Moreover this interest was not limited to the Established Church. Quakers were contemplating an order of nurses, similar to Sisters of Charity.[3] Commissions were being appointed to investigate the work and position of women. Female education was a vital problem. People of high rank educated their daughters at home because they lacked confidence in the available seminaries.[4] On these broad social needs therefore, communities of women were enabled to secure a foundation, while the zeal was still lacking to give permanence to the orders of men.[5]

With the general preparation traced in the preceding chapter and these specific factors in addition, the time was

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 667.

[2] *British Magazine*, vii, 667.

[3] Liddon, *Life of Pusey*, iii, 8-9.

[4] *British Magazine*, ix, 367 (1836).

[5] To these factors should be added a further explanation by Pusey, writing after thirty years of observation. "For men it is more difficult, for there are few who have what the Marriage Service calls the gift of continency." Letter of Pusey, July 13, 1881, in Russell, *Dr. Pusey* (London, 1912), p. 105.

now ripe for a beginning. Who would take the lead? Froude had desired orders of men, but he was dead. Newman had felt the need of Sisterhoods as well as Brotherhoods, but he was leading a retired life at Littlemore.[1] It remained for Pusey to launch the Sisterhood movement. Several factors had helped him toward this desire. For many years his thoughts and charities had been turned to the condition of the large cities, especially to that of the East End of London.[2] He was convinced of the need of new social machinery for their amelioration. He was also influenced by the difficulty of finding suitable employment for unmarried women, a problem of which he had often heard.[3] Thirdly, his study of the Fathers, as in the case of Newman and the other Oxford leaders, had shown him the stress laid by the early church on virginity and reiterated by the seventeenth century divines.[4] Moreover causes nearer home aided in this conviction. Pusey's daughter Lucy had from very early childhood expressed her desire to lead the life of a religious.[5] He himself after the death of his wife in May, 1839 was convinced that Providence had ordained for him a single life. Hence this husband and father, who had said nothing openly in the Oxford School's agitation for celibacy, and had been merely a follower of Newman and Froude in the early cry for colleges of celibate priests, now in 1839 began to act independently in his desire for religious orders of women. On Dec. 18, 1839 he wrote to Keble: "Newman and I have separately come to think it necessary to have some *'Soeurs de charite'* in the Anglo-Catholic (Church). He is going to have an article on it in the *British Critic.* If no one else writes it he will do it himself. . . . My notion was that it might be-

[1] *Cf.* ch. vi.
[2] Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 2.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

gin by regular employment as nurses in hospitals and lunatic asylums, in which last Christian nursing is so sadly missed." [1]

Pusey soon outstripped Newman in this movement, as a letter of the latter indicates: "Pusey is at present very eager about setting up Sisters of Mercy. I feel sure that such institutions are the only means of saving some of our best members from turning Roman Catholics; and yet I despair of such societies being made externally. They must be the expression of an inward principle. All one can do is to offer the opportunity. I am sceptical, too, whether they can be set up without a quasi-vow." [2] Newman's desire seemed more or less passive. He recognized the needs, but he was willing to wait. This is shown by the following letter: "There are doubtless many women who waste their lives as things are, whose calling and happiness would seem to be in uniting in a religious society, supposing they had a rule sufficiently authoritative to overcome differences of tastes and tempers." [3] He asked his correspondent to cherish the wish for such a life and to pray for it, if it be at present impracticable. Newman wanted the matter thoroughly discussed and the cost counted before the attempt was made. "What you hear about a convent is a mere mistake. I know nothing of it. But I am very glad to hear that such ideas are spreading, and talking is the first step to doing. Several plans are in agitation for establishing Sisters of Mercy, whether for hospitals or for parochial visiting; but I expect nothing of them yet. It is a great thing if persons communicate to each other their ideas and wishes. No one can begin solitarily, but the feeling that

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[2] Mozley, *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, ii. 298-299. Letter of Newman to J. W. Bowden, Feb. 21, 1840.

[3] Letter to ZYX, a lady, Mar. 29, 1840, *ibid.*, p. 307.

there are others like-minded gives at once confidence and opportunity. . . . A very strong religious principle and a tight discipline would be necessary. But it is a very good thing for people to be thinking about. Nothing would need more counting the cost." [1]

While Newman was thinking over the advantages of conventual life but doing nothing to launch it, Pusey was busy getting suggestions and laying plans. He met with a favorable response from many. In 1839, he wrote: "I have named it since to very different sorts of persons, and all are taken with it exceedingly, (except B. Harrison, who, as Archbishop's chaplain, is half afraid of it, and think that there would be numbers of people who are yearning to be employed that way." [2] One of these correspondents was W. Perceval Ward, Rector of Compton Valence. He had resided much abroad and had been interested in the Sisterhood of St. Vincent de Paul, as well as other types of community life on the continent. Ward urged the necessity of some such associations in order to save the population of the cities from Romanism or irreligion.[3]

Another friend to whom Pusey wrote was Dr. W. F. Hook, Vicar of Leeds. Pusey stated that he desired such sisterhoods "(1) as in themselves belonging to and fostering a high tone in the Church; (2) as giving a holy employment to many who yearn for something; (3) as directing zeal which will otherwise go off in some irregular way, or go over to Rome." [4] He then makes a specific request: "Do you know of any who would engage in

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316. Letter to Miss Giberne, Nov. 4, 1840. Newman tried to point out the difficulties of conventual life to a lady who was contemplating entrance into a Roman Catholic order. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

[2] Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6; *cf.* letter.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 6. Letter of Dec., 1839.

it on a small scale, quietly, or one who would be a Mother Superior, *i.e.*, one fitted to guide it?" [1] Hook's warning shows the spirit of the time:

I perfectly agree with you in thinking it to be most important to have a class of persons acting under us and answering to the Sisters of Charity in some foreign churches. But there will be great difficulties in the way. Although we shall obtain the cooperation of the really pious of all classes ultimately, there will be much opposition from those "Evangelical" ladies who at present control the visiting societies. . . . I am always an advocate for exhibiting works before principles. . . . What I should like to have done is this: for you to train an elderly matron, and for her to come here and take lodgings with two or three other females. Let their object be known to none but myself. . . . We should attend to their principles, but draw up no rules, except such as might be absolutely necessary for the guidance of the household, and there should be no distinction of dress. . . . Let this go on for twelve months at least. We could then have a meeting of our friends prepared to support this establishment.[2]

At this same time Pusey was corresponding with Mr. W. Greenhill, who was studying medicine in Paris. Greenhill undertook to obtain for him the rules of the Sisters of the Order of St. Augustine, and also those of St. Vincent de Paul.[3]

In the midst of this discussion and study, a very definite step was taken toward the actual beginning of a Sisterhood. On June 5, 1841, Pusey wrote to Newman: "A young lady, who is very grateful to your teaching, is purposing to-day to take a vow of holy celibacy. She has difficulties and anxieties in her position. She has attended

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7. Letter of June 9, 1840.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

St. Mary's since she has been in Oxford, and hopes to receive the Holy Communion there to-day as part of her self-devotion. It was wished that you should know it and remember her. You will know her by her being dressed in white with an ivory cross." [1] The lady referred to in this letter was Miss Marian Hughes.[2]

Shortly after her self-dedication Miss Hughes went to Normandy with the Rev. and Mrs. Seager, in order to study so far as possible the orders of women in France. They visited at Bayeux a community of White Augustines or Ursulines. At Caen they studied a convent under the Rule of St. Francis de Sales. This latter especially pleased Pusey and "in the regulations of the first English community of Sisters it is not difficult to trace the influence of the information thus conveyed." [3] In the same year Pusey himself visited Ireland in order to study the working of the Roman Catholic Sisterhoods there; but "although he visited some convents, and witnessed the reception of a Sister, there is no evidence of his having gathered from this quarter much experience or information which could be turned to account in his projects for Anglican Sisterhoods." [4]

Four years, however, elapsed between the dedication of the first Sisters and the establishment of the first Sisterhood.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[2] Miss Hughes said that she was influenced to take the step by the following passage in Newman's *Church of the Fathers,* ch. 14: "And if women have themselves lost so much by the present state of things, what has been the loss of the poor, sick and aged, to whose service they might consecrate the life which they refuse to shackle by the marriage vow? What has been the loss of the ignorant, sinful and miserable, among whom they only can move without indignity, who bear a religious character upon them . . . ?" (Russell, *Dr. Pusey,* p. 57).

[3] Liddon, *op. cit.,* iii, 11.

[4] *Ibid.*

Pusey was patient and hopeful. To Miss Hughes he wrote: "The time is not lost, but rather gained, which passes before any formal institution is made. It is too great a work to be brought about readily and yet solidly. . . . The difficulties which people have to go through before they enter upon it are a means of disciplining them to enter upon it aright. . . . I doubt not, then, that while such institutions are for the time withheld, people are being prepared both to enter them in a deeper spirit, and to welcome them more gratefully. Yet there must be continued prayer for them." [1]

Before turning to the foundation of the first Sisterhood, it may be well to ask what kind of an institution Pusey desired. It was seen in the last chapter that the Tractarians had advanced from the somewhat emasculated monastic orders of Southey toward the old Romanist models. When Pusey came to the specific matter of establishment, he did not really retract his advanced views. However, he recognized that a start must be made on the more plausible ground of active social institutions. "It seemed best," he wrote in 1839, "that at first they should not be so discursive as those of the Romish Church in Ireland, but be employed in hospitals, lunatic asylums, prisons, among the females." [2] But that the emphasis on activity was only to secure a start is shown by his preference for the Rule of St. Francis de Sales.[3] "The leanings of his mind drew him from the more active orders of Augustinians and Soeurs to the Rule of St. Francis de Sales' Order of the Visitation, from which as we have seen active nursing work had been displaced by ascetic regulations, and it was a modification of this rule, providing for about four hours

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6. Letter to Dr. Hook.
[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 111.

daily of visiting among the poor, which was finally adopted for the Park Village Community." [1]

In view of later discussions, Pusey's attitude toward vows at this time should be noted. In reviewing a German Protestant pamphlet on the subject of Sisterhoods, he observed:

> It would do us harm, too, that he speaks so strongly against vows, as of something inferior. We, who are admitted to the priesthood, are under vows; we devote ourselves for a whole life; why should not women also for their offices? It seems to me a more religious way of devoting themselves to their office, than if they reserved to themselves the power to draw back. Our very word "devoting himself" implies a vow. Only, of course, they should have proved themselves before they venture to make it. We should be very slow about making vows, because in the state of things around us, there are so many temptations to break them; but still I should be sorry for anything to be published against them in the abstract.[2]

SEC. II. THE SISTERHOOD AT PARK VILLAGE

When Robert Southey died in 1843, there was a discussion as to a memorial for him. Lord John Manners wrote later of his part in this discussion: "I suggested in a letter to the *Morning Post* a Sisterhood of Mercy; the suggestion was favorably received." [3] A few of its advocates met in Manners' rooms at the Albany and determined to start such a project. Two conditions were imposed: (1) That it should be located in a parish whose incumbent would welcome it and become its spiritual head. The parish suggested was that of Christ Church, St. Pancras, whose vicar was the Rev. W. Dodsworth; (2) That the Bishop of London should give his sanction. The Bishop, Dr.

[1] Dock, *History of Nursing*, ii, 77.
[2] Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 8.
[3] Russel, *Dr. Pusey*, pp. 58-59.

Blomfield, was afraid and the matter was allowed to rest for about two months, when he finally agreed.[1]

This interested group contained friends of Pusey. On the day after his daughter Lucy's funeral in April, 1844, his sorrow was lightened by two letters from these advocates of the institutions for which Lucy had longed. The first was from Mr. T. D. Acland giving an account of the two meetings in London to consider the subject. The representative men interested are shown by the attendance at the second meeting: Lord Lyttelton, Lord Clive, Lord Camden, Lord John Manners, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Watts-Russell, Mr. Acland, Rev. W. Dodsworth and Dr. Hook. Mr. W. E. Gladstone could not be present, but wrote in warm sympathy of the project.[2] The second letter was from Lord John Manners, who had been instructed to ask Pusey whether he knew of any one qualified for the post of Lady Superior.[3]

Pusey, however, could suggest no one for the position. He had corresponded with several ladies who might serve as Sisters, but none seemed qualified to lead. In this embarrassing position, the lay committee[4] in the name of Lord John Manners went ahead and secured a house to be occupied as soon as suitable Sisters could be found. The house was a small detached one at 17 Park Village West, not many minutes walk from Albany Street, Regent's Park. On the ground floor it had a parlor, a recreation room, and a small oratory, leading into each other. The upper rooms were partitioned into six cells, and there were four attics. The house throughout was plainly furnished.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 13.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Trench, *Dr. Pusey*, pp. 266 *et seq.*
[5] Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 16.

The institution was opened March 26, 1845, with only two Sisters, Miss Jane Ellacombe and Miss Mary Bruce. In a few weeks they were joined by Miss Terrot, a daughter of the Bishop of Edinburgh, who said he was far from being a Tractarian but nevertheless consented to his daughter's wishes.[1] A few weeks later a Superior was found in Miss Langston. "She was ten years older than any of her companions; and seemed to have been a person of 'strong understanding, fervent piety, and extreme simplicity of manners.' " [2] Her arrival was speedily followed by four more, two being introduced by Mr. Dodsworth and two by Mr. Upton Richards. While the house was taken in the name of the lay committee, Pusey seems to have been "regarded as the founder, and his office was that of spiritual superintendent." [3] In this he was assisted by the Rev. W. Dodsworth. Pusey's motive was quite different from that of the London committee. "To them it was less an effort once more to restore the consecrated single life than an attempt to relieve the misery and ignorance of the great towns, and as a tribute to the wisdom and forethought of Robert Southey." [4] Their social motive was shown in the "confidential" paper which they circulated shortly after the Sisterhood was opened.[5] Pusey, on the other hand, primarily desired to revive the monastic life. His influence gradually increased so that by the time a permanent home came to be built in 1852, one biographer writes: "The management of the Sisterhood appears to

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 17; *cf.* Yonge, in *The Treasury*, April, 1914.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18; *cf.* Cookesley, *A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin on . . . Miss Sellon's Establishment* (London, 1853), 5th ed., p. 12.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

have passed away from the Lay Founders to Dr. Pusey, Mr. Richards and Miss Sellon." [1]

That Pusey's interest was not so purely social as that of the Committee which he supplanted is shown also by the Rule adopted. In determining this, Pusey wrote: "We naturally went by experience. Lord John Manners procured us the rules of the Sisters of Charity at Birmingham.[2] I had some rules by me, used by different bodies in England and on the continent. We took as our basis St. Augustine's Rule, as extant in an Epistle [3] of his to some *'Sanctimoniales,'* whom he had brought together. . . . On this we engrafted others, always bearing in mind the character of English churchwomen." [4] The completed Rule of the Sisterhood consisted of thirty-three chapters. Its sermonic nature is seen from the following letter of a sympathizer: "Have you seen the rules of St. Saviour's, Regent's Park? They are short sermons, expansions of St. Augustine's. . . . The advantage of a sermonic rule is that the reading of it gives a devotional atmosphere to the house." [5] That its primary object was holiness, with the social mark merely a means toward that end, is shown by this Rule, which states the aim to be "to afford opportunities for persons apart from the world and its distractions to perfect holiness in the fear of God, and to grow in the love of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, especially by cherishing and showing forth love to Him in His poor and afflicted brethren." [6] The Rule insisted on the

[1] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[2] The influence of these restored Roman Catholic conventual orders confirms the thesis of Ch. ii.

[3] *St. Augustine's Epistle*, 211, Opp. ii, 783 (ed. Ben).

[4] Liddon, *op .cit.*, iii, 22.

[5] Letter of Rev. W. Butler to John M. Neale, in Towle, *John Mason Neale, A Memoir* (London, 1906), p. 237.

[6] Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 23.

various Christian graces of humility, charity, modesty, purity, voluntary poverty, and obedience, and gave practical directions for their cultivation. The various elements of the devotional side of the Christian life were treated, such as, Holy Communion, the practice of self-examination, confession, meditation and mortification. Rules were given for directing the thoughts and purposes of the Sisters in the various tasks, for silence at certain hours, for intercourse with outsiders, for recreation, etc. The last portion of the Rule was devoted to the works of mercy to be undertaken: visiting the sick, teaching in schools, and the admission of distressed women to a temporary home.[1]

Under a Rule which so emphasized the devotional features, and with a guide so ascetic in his tendencies as Pusey has been seen to be,[2] there was danger that these inexperienced and enthusiastic Sisters might run to excesses. Such charges were made.[3] Pusey, however, denied any ascetic excesses. "They have all which is necessary, good food, warm clothing, firing. . . . But real care is taken of their health. They keep the Fasts of the Church; but their mode of keeping them is regulated by a physician, and is not so strict as that of some was before they went there. There is nothing distinctive, except great simplicity; but their general diet was regulated by the same kind physician." [4] His chief biographer Liddon asserts that Pusey was not a rigourist at Park Village and evidences this by the letter of a member.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

[2] *Vide*, ch. iv.

[3] The Rev. W. G. Cookesley, in *A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin*, p. 12, speaking of this institution, wrote: "The rules of St. Augustine are very ascetic; and the Superior is bound by them as well as the Sisters, and though she is called 'Mother,' she is really only 'Sister Superior.'"

[4] Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 27.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

Perhaps the best indication of the Sisterhood life is shown by the daily schedule:

5:00 a. m.	Rise.
5:20- 6:15	Breviary offices of Matins and Lauds.
6:15- 6:45	Private devotions.
6:45- 7:00	Make beds and clean up rooms.
7:00- 7:30	Prime.
7:30- 8:30	Service in Church.
8:30- 8:55	Breakfast.
8:55- 9:10	Terce.
9:10-12:30	Visiting the Poor.
12:30- 1:00	Repose.
1:00- 1:20	Sext and self-examination.
1:20- 3.00	Dinner and recreation.
3:00- 5:00	Nones and visiting the poor.
5:00- 6:00	Service in Church.
6:00- 7:00	Vespers and devotions on the Holy Communion.
7:00- 8:00	Supper and recreation.
8:00- 9:00	Reading religious books.
9:00-10:00	Compline, self-examination, and private devotions.
10:00	Retire to rest.[1]

The progress of the Sisterhood was not without opposition. This came from two sources. About six months after its opening, the poor people turned against the Sisters. They suspected them of being disguised Roman Catholics. The people ceased to attend the services at Christ Church. Mr. Dodsworth grew alarmed and wrote to Pusey, suggesting a change in the Sister's dress.[2] Pusey

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[2] Trench, *Dr. Pusey*, p. 274; *cf.* Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 26.

did not think favorably of yielding, but in the end a slight alteration in costume was made.[1] The other source of opposition was the episcopal authority. The Rule of the Sisterhood was not shown to the Bishop at first, for they desired to wait until "trial enough had been made of the institution, for him to be ready to take it up."[2] The Bishop had allowed the plan of the lay committee to proceed, as has been seen, but he was more or less afraid. On April 28, 1845, Dodsworth wrote: "The Bishop seems as favorably disposed as I could have expected. We must try to strike out of the rules what would offend him, so that no essential point is sacrificed."[3] The point to which Bishop Blomfield seems to have objected was the type of devotions. In 1848, Pusey wrote:

> I know and have regretted that the Bishop of London disapproved my "adaptation" of Roman books. I would have altered anything which I knew his Lordship to disapprove of, as departing, if he so thought, from the English Church. But in these adaptations I admitted whatever I believed to be true, believing it also not to be contrary to the teaching of the Church of England; in the Devotions of the Sisters there is nothing but what is countenanced and sanctioned in principle by the Church of England.[4]

Whether Pusey was able to satisfy the Bishop of this, is not stated; but there is no record of further episcopal interference. As to general opposition outside of these two sources, there is no mention. It would seem that the public took little notice of this institution, perhaps because the inauguration was very quiet and also because in 1845,

[1] Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 27.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 22; quoted from letter by Pusey to Mr. A. J. B. Hope, 1848.

[3] Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 23.

[4] Letter to A. J. B. Hope, in Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 26.

popular attention was absorbed by Newman's secession to the church of Rome.[1]

During the next few years the work of the Sisterhood grew. The poor were visited, a Ragged School was started, and the confidence of neighbors was secured.[2] True to their promise the lay founders planned to give the Sisterhood a permanent home. Pusey came to their aid with an offer of £4000 for the purpose of acquiring a site and erecting a building.[3] This house was erected at Osnaburgh Street, being the first one built for an Anglican Community. "Building operations were for a time suspended, because the Government was not able to decide whether religious houses were in accordance with the English law; ultimately, however, the Legislature suffered the work to proceed." [4] This house was in the parish of St. Mary, and Mr. Stuart became the spiritual head.[5]

The establishment was soon lost sight of in the publicity given to other similar institutions. "Presently the original Sisterhood in Park Village was broken up, and the surviving members of it joined the Devonport Society" of Miss Sellon, the woman whose Sisterhood was to be for a time the outstanding example of the whole movement.[6] Its life may seem short, but its significance is considerable. It furnishes the best example of what Pusey's own ideas of a Sisterhood were. It was an experiment, but it gave a model from which other communities were to take suggestions.

[1] Liddon, *op. cit.*, iii, 18.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[3] Russell, *Dr. Pusey*, p. 59.
[4] Goodman, *Sisterhoods in the Church of England* (London, 1863). Preface, p. 6.
[5] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

SEC. III. SOCIETY OF THE HOLY TRINITY OF DEVONPORT

On January 1, 1848, Dr. Phillpotts, the Bishop of Exeter, made an unwonted appeal, through the columns of the *Guardian,* for the poor in the town of Devonport, a suburb of Plymouth. "The ground," he said, "which Devonport covers is probably the most densely populated in England." [1] The rate was about 130,000 to the square mile. There was a need of four large parish churches, while at that time there was "no parochial church whatever; the parish church (that of Stoke Damerel) being at some distance and capable of containing only a few hundreds, for it has never been enlarged since the parish ceased to be merely rural and agricultural." [2] For this needy field the Bishop appealed to the Christian charity of England.

Lydia Sellon, the daughter of a well-to-do naval officer, read this public letter and decided to offer her services.[3] She had already visited the Sisterhood at Park Village and was known to Pusey.[4] He counselled Miss Sellon to make Plymouth and Devonport her sphere of work, watched her labors with keenest sympathy, and directed largely her course.[5] Arriving in Devonport, she worked alone for about four months.[6] At that time another lady came to help her, and later three or four more. They took a little house in Mitre Place.[7] She had some private means, and her father, who had consented to her going, went down

[1] *Guardian,* iii, 15 (1848).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Guardian,* Feb. 14, 1849, p. 112, Letter to Rev. John Hatchard.

[4] Kelway, *George Rundle Prynne* (London, 1905), p. 63.

[5] Russell, *op. cit.,* p. 80.

[6] Ludlow, *Woman's Work in the Church* (London, 1866), p. 294 *et seq.; cf. Guardian,* Feb. 14, 1849, p. 112.

[7] Ludlow, *op. cit.,* p. 295.

later and bought a chapel for them in Morice-Town, a section of Devonport.[1]

Her work was at first chiefly educational. She testified: "I collected the children myself out of the street." [2] Thus three schools were started, one of boys and two of girls. The "educational work soon developed into something larger and deeper, as was inevitable in a district devoid of church or other means of organization, where the clergy could scarcely touch the spiritual needs of the 5000 souls committed to their care." [3] The extent to which the charity work was developed may be seen from Miss Sellon's testimony: "We receive orphans and educate them ourselves; we collect schools and support them; we visit the sick and destitute poor; and any other work of charity that comes under our notice we would gladly perform." [4] Something of the effect of this broadening work was shown in St. James' District, where in the beginning of 1848 there was no school for the poor and only one licensed place of worship—a room over a beer shop. There were in January, 1849, five schools open in which about five hundred children were instructed, and a Dissenting chapel had been purchased, which held about seven hundred.[5] The Orphans' Home, which was started, received the support of many leading people.[6]

So well did the work succeed, that in 1849 by Pusey's advice, the Sisters were formed into "The Society of the

[1] *Guardian,* Feb. 21, 1849, p. 122.

[2] *Ibid.,* Testimony before the Bishop of Exeter.

[3] Kelway, *op. cit.,* pp. 63-64.

[4] *Guardian,* Feb. 21, 1849.

[5] *Guardian,* Jan. 17, 1849.

[6] Among the contributors were the Queen Dowager, the Bishop of Exeter, Lady Manners, Marchioness of Bath, Sir T. D. Acland, Rev. Edw. Bickersteth and others prominent in church and society. ("The Orphans' Home"—Advertisement in the *Guardian,* Feb. 7, 1849).

Holy Trinity of Devonport." According to their leader, they called themselves Sisters of Mercy and not Sisters of Charity, because the latter was a Roman Catholic order.[1] Miss Sellon had made a great impression on Pusey. He thought she might become a kind of Superior-General over all the Sisterhoods in the Church of England.[2] But this hope was blighted by the early development of hostility to the Devonport institution.

In 1849 a storm of local opposition broke forth. In this, certain of the local clergy took the lead. The Rev. John Hatchard visited the institution, corresponded with Miss Sellon in regard to certain mooted questions, and then published their correspondence.[3] He charged her with being, if not Roman Catholic, at least Tractarian ("of whom about 200 have become Romanists") and, therefore, tending to become Roman Catholic. The grounds on which he made this charge of Romanism were: the dress of the nuns, the name 'Sisters of Mercy,' the wearing of the cross in public, etc. The *Devonport Telegraph* also published charges against Miss Sellon, based on the testimony of three inmates of the Orphan's Home.[4].

So bitter became the opposition and so great the excitement, that the Bishop of Exeter held an inquiry on February 15, 1849. At this hearing the charges enumerated against the Sisters were: the wearing of the cross, the beads, the movable cross, the services in the Oratory, the bowing to the cross, the nun-like hoods, the mutilated Bibles, and others of similar nature. In defence, Miss Sellon reviewed her work and denied the charges of Ro-

[1] *Guardian,* Feb. 21, 1849, p. 122; for the Rules of the Sisterhood *vide* Appendix, iv.

[2] Russell, *op. cit.,* p. 81.

[3] *Guardian,* Feb. 14, 1849.

[4] *Ibid.,* Feb. 21, 1849.

manism. After listening to the charges and the defence, the bishop said: "If there have been some things which I wish had not been adopted, they are absolutely overpowered by the cloud of virtues and graces exemplified in their conduct." [1] The objectionable features in his opinion were the movable cross, the flowers in the oratory and the little Romanist touches. But he expressed his great pleasure that the Church of England was emulating some of the good features of Roman Catholicism:

I rejoice that Miss Sellon knows that such Sisterhoods exist in Protestant countries abroad. I had heard so but I did not inquire. I rejoice that there is established in England a Sisterhood of Mercy. I rejoice to thank her, as a member of the Church of England, for having by her wonderful exertions rescued in part her Church from that reproach hitherto very frequently borne against her by the Roman Catholics, viz. that we are incapable of raising among our women anything like that spirit of love which has exerted itself to so wonderful a degree in many instances in Roman Catholic countries.[2]

This attitude of the Bishop was shared by the *Morning Post,* the *Morning Chronicle,* the radical *Spectator* and the *Guardian.* The Diocesan Inspectors of Church Schools had also borne witness to the orthodoxy of Miss Sellon's instruction.[3] A committee composed of the Mayor of Devonport and several clergy of Stoke Damerel published a testimonial to the purity of their teaching and the value of their work:

We have visited this establishment and have fully ascertained the principles on which it is conducted. And we feel bound to state our conscientious conviction that the ladies who superintend it are sincerely attached to the Church of England.

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 123.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 121.

They devote themselves to works of piety and charity. They visit the sick with the sanction and under the direction of the parochial clergy. We are also prepared to assure the public that the books used in the instruction of the children are from the list of the S. P. C. K.[1]

The episcopal enquiry seems to have silenced the opposition for a time and to have inaugurated a period of marked progress for the Sisterhood. The Bishop of Exeter became the Visitor. Miss Sellon began to receive extensive financial aid.[2] The public interest in the institution was marked.[3] Others were following her example, as for instance, an establishment near Fitzroy-Square.[4] One reason for this popularity was the splendid work done by the Sisters in the cholera epidemic of 1849.[5] Whatever the causes, the years from 1849-52 showed remarkable growth. The extent of the social work March 20, 1852, was shown by the letter of a neighboring clergyman to the Bishop of Exeter. The works enumerated were: (1) Orphan's Home. 27 children. Elementary branches taught. (2) College for Sailor Boys, 26. Elementary branches taught. (3) House of Peace for destitute girls, 12 inmates. Religious instruction given. Training for nurses and servants. (4) Home for Old Sailors. Four men and one wife. (5) Industrial School. 120 young women. (6) Houses of Hope, 150 to 160. Lodging houses for poor

[1] Signed: John Smith, Mayor of Devonport; W. J. St. Aubyn, Rector of Stoke Damerel; Samuel Dennis, Curate of Stoke Damerel; J. P. Oliver, Ass't Curate; John Lampen, Minister of St. John the Baptist Chapel, Devonport; Samuel Rundle, Minister of St. Aubyn's Chapel, Devonport (*Guardian*, Feb. 7, 1849).

[2] *Guardian*, Mar. 14, 1849, p. 177.

[3] *Cf.* space given in the *Guardian* during 1849.

[4] *Guardian*, June 27th, 1849, quoting from *Spectator*.

[5] Ludlow, *Woman's Work, etc.*, p. 295; *cf. Guardian*, June 19, 1850, p. 442.

families. (7) Lodging houses in connection with the Industrial School. (8) Day Ragged School. Average 60 to 70. (9) House for Destitute children. (10) Soup-kitchens, 80 to 100 persons fed daily.[1]

Not content with the work at Devonport, the Mother House sent out branches. An idea of the method of instituting branch houses may be seen from the testimony of an ex-Sister.[2] According to this account,[3] Miss Sellon and three Sisters went to Bristol. They dressed as poor women, and not as Sisters. A small house in an obscure court was taken for £12 a year. Since the Sisters had to do all the housework themselves, they took kitchen training. After a short time Miss Sellon and one Sister returned to Devonport, leaving two Sisters to handle the work. These were constantly being changed. The city of Bristol was divided into two districts, one for each Sister. After thus gaining a foothold in the social work and the public confidence, they would formally set up a Sisterhood.

This period of remarkable growth was interrupted by another serious outbreak of opposition in 1852. It was charged that Miss Sellon's Sisterhood had developed more monastic tendencies since its origin. The two chief grounds of attack were (1) the inability of the Sisters to withdraw at will; and (2) the control of the Sisters' property. It was upon these grounds that the Bishop of Exeter announced his withdrawal as Visitor. As to the ability of a Sister to withdraw, the original Rule had

[1] Letter of Geo. R. Prynne to Bishop Exeter, Appendix, Mar. 20, 1852, p. 12 *et seq.* *Cf.* Letter of Sister Catherine to Rev. E. Coleridge, Jan. 14, 1852, quoted in Colles, *Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Misery* (London, 1852), pp. 23-24.

[2] Spurrell, *Miss Sellon and the Sisters of Mercy* (London, 1852), p. 22 *et seq.*

[3] *Guardian*, Mar. 31, 1852, p. 209.

granted "free liberty to any Sister to withdraw, if it shall seem good to her." [1] But Miss Sellon, in her reply to the attacks of the Rev. James Spurrell, had spoken of the "sinfulness of looking back" in any one who "had perceived this calling, and who after due trial had yet retracted." [2] Miss Sellon's father, however, denied that she ever prevented the departure of Sisters. She had written to him in regard to one whom she had been charged with holding against her will: "There was nothing to prevent her passing out of the house unquestioned, at any hour; there are no bolts, nor bars, nor wardens, and each Sister is so fully employed in her own occupation, that none would have asked her errand. Indeed the rule is not to do so." [3] In these charges and countercharges, it is difficult to detect the facts. The testimony of ex-Sisters must be considered with a certain allowance for their animosity. However, the *Guardian,* although friendly to Miss Sellon's establishments, accepts these charges as deserved.[4]

As to the other ground of attack, the question of a Sister's property, the original rule was, "that any Sister so withdrawing, or in any way ceasing to be a member of the Society, shall be entitled to her own personal property; but neither she nor her heirs shall be entitled to any share of the common property of the Society." [5] But in 1852, Miss Sellon in replying to Spurrell, wrote: "Whatever is kept for themselves is not considered as their own

[1] Phillpotts, *Letter to Miss Sellon* (London, 1852), p. 4 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 21.

[3] Sellon, *Miss Sellon and the Sisters of Mercy* (London, 1852), 4th ed., p. 3.

[4] *Guardian,* Mar. 31, 1852, p. 209. Whatever may have been the facts as to the freedom of departure, Miss Sellon admits that no one had left after becoming a Sister and only four before their veiling. (*Guardian,* Jan. 15, 1851.)

[5] Phillpotts, *op. cit.,* p. 5.

but as belonging to the community. We have all things in common. One of the Sisters who is treasurer and accountant keeps all the money. When we receive money for our own, we also put it in her hands, unless any Sister thinks it her duty to send it out of the community as soon as she receives it." [1] While Miss Sellon, writing to the Bishop of Exeter in 1852, says that a Sister is free to take her property with her,[2] the above statement would lead to the belief in the truth of Spurrell's quotation from their Rule of Holy Poverty: "It is not permitted to any Sister to appropriate anything however small, or under whatever pretext, to herself; since each shall on the day of the entrance renounce in favor of the community, not only the possession, but the use and disposition of everything which is hers, or shall be given to her, all this being under the entire regulation of the Superior . . ." [3]

The excesses of the establishment in these two points induced the Bishop of Exeter to resign as Visitor, but he praised the work and wished the Sisterhood to continue. Along other lines, however, increased monastic tendencies were noted, and the critics were far less lenient than the Bishop. One objectionable feature was the exalted claim

[1] Sellon, *Reply to a Tract by the Rev. James Spurrell* (London, 1852), p. 22.

[2] *Guardian*, Mar. 31, 1852, p. 207.

[3] Spurrell, *op. cit.*, p. 18; *cf.* Cookesley, *A Letter to His Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin, etc.*, p. 13.

The report ran through London society that Miss Sellon had made a Sister sign away her property. Her father came to her defence with the following explanation: "As to money, I may assure this gentleman, that no lady under 24 has ever presented this Institution with any money out of the principal of her fortune. Their annual incomes (according to regulations) are contributed while resident to the support of the Sisterhood, for be it known, the whole of the expenses of the Sisterhood are paid out of these private resources, which admit of contributions also toward their schools and charities." Sellon, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

of obedience made by the Superior. Cookesley, taking his evidence from ex-Sisters, quotes as follows from the "Holy Vow of Obedience":

> Of your Rule of Holy Obedience, ye who have offered up to God your judgment and your will, must strive to preserve you in the submission ye have professed. Actions, in themselves indifferent, become sanctified when done in the spirit of holy obedience. For all authority descends from God and Superiors bear the image of the divine power of God, which he vouchsafed to imprint on them; and he will surely require it at your hands, if ye despise his authority in them.[1]

The Bishop of Exeter thought Miss Sellon had gone too far in this regard, coming to be called "Spiritual Mother," "Mother in Christ," etc.[2] In reply to these charges, the lady in question made a distinction between a vow of obedience and a promise of obedience. In regard to a certain Sister she said: "She never took a vow. The promise of obedience is not a vow. A promise is exceedingly sacred and binding as far as it goes; but a promise of obedience to myself is not a vow to God."[3] However, she adds: "We are to look on our superiors as in the place of Christ."[4] From the evidence there seems little doubt that the Sisterhood had advanced far beyond its original ideas of obedience.

Another Roman Catholic tendency was the division of the Sisterhood into graded orders. Of these there were three. While the statements[5] in regard to these are somewhat conflicting, the nature of them is quite clear. There was an "Order of the Holy Ghost" or "Grey Sisters" who

[1] Cookesley, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
[2] Phillpotts, *A Letter to Miss Sellon*, p. 8.
[3] Sellon, *Reply to a Tract by the Rev. J. Spurrell*, p. 9.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[5] Spurrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-16; *cf.* Sellon, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

lived in the world, but as far as possible according to the rules of the community. The second division was the "Black Order," living in the community, entirely under the control of the Superior, and engaged in the social work. Of this, one critic says: "If a Sister once enters the 'Black Order,' as it is called, she is irrevocably handed over for the rest of her life, to the service of the Lady Superior." [1] The third order is the "Order of the Sacred Heart." They were contemplative. Of them, Miss Sellon herself writes: "From sickness or other causes they are unable to undertake laborious work, but they wish to live a quiet life engaged in reading and prayer and such occupations as best suit their health, such as needlework, writing, etc." [2] A former Sister writes that the Sisters belonging to this third order are actually termed nuns by the other Sisters, that they are strictly "enclosed" nuns, "whose time is supposed to be spent in almost perpetual prayer for the living or the dead." [3] This order was modeled after the Poor Clares in the Roman Church.[4]

Charges of Romanism were made along other lines. The most important of these were: (1) Regular confession and absolution.[5] This attack centered around George R. Prynne, who was charged with compelling children of very tender years to confess privately in revolting forms. Bishop Phillpotts called a hearing September 22, 1852, and exonerated Prynne, who was supported by Pusey and others.[6] (2) Roman Catholic symbols and pictures.[7] (3) Prayers

[1] Cookesley, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[2] Sellon, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[3] Goodman, *Sisterhods in the Church of England*, p. 125.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 213.
[5] Cookesley, *op. cit.*, p. 15; *cf.* Eardley, *The Diocese of Exeter* (London, 1852), p. 5.
[6] Kelway, *George Rundle Prynne*, p. 83 *et seq.*
[7] Cookesley, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

for the departed.[1] (4) The common use of the Sarum Psalter, and on special occasions the Sarum Breviary.[2] (5) Doctrine of "Infallibility" as held by the Superior.[3] (6) Fasting and physical austerities.[4]

Another, and perhaps the most peculiarly monastic, development of the Sisterhood was its Romanistic idea of virginity. One sympathetic critic thought the cause was the lack of a married man to direct:

> Left to the direction of an unmarried woman, it seems absolutely impossible that they should not gradually merge into ascetic celibacy—Romish celibacy . . . , which sooner or later only sustains itself by the polygamous figment of a special union of the individual Sisters with Christ. I can see the germ of this feeling already in those words of one of Miss Sellon's letters, "Called to a close union with the Beloved, the chief among ten thousand, you may not adorn yourself for other eyes." [5]

Miss Goodman, a former Sister, attributed these monastic developments to "a certain lady of high standing" who joined the community. She was a woman of showy attainments, and fantastic mediæval ideas, derived from reading the saints of old.[6]

So severe became the criticism of Miss Sellon's institution that Pusey disclaimed official connection with it. Writing to Keble, September, 1869, he said: "I am not sure from what you kindly write . . ., whether you do not think that I have some office as to the Devonport So-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
[5] Ludlow, *Woman's Work in the Church*, p. 301.
[6] Goodman, *Experiences of an English Sister of Mercy*, quoted in Russell, *Dr. Pusey*, pp. 79-80.

ciety. . . . At Devonport I have never had any office." [1] Although Pusey may have held no constitutional office in the society, he was a frequent visitor.[2] His aid and counsel in the early days of the community have been seen. According to the testimony of the orphans and the ex-Sisters, he acted as confessor to Miss Sellon [3] and to many of the Sisters. "He receives vows of celibacy from some of his spiritual children; . . . and in receiving those vows, he is only repeating that conduct at Devonport which he notoriously practices elsewhere." [4] This statement of his critic is given further credence by Pusey's defence of Prynne when charged with requiring confession. Pusey wrote to Prynne, "It is all our cause." [5] While Pusey may not have approved all Miss Sellon's extravagant ideas, his general support of, and intimate connection with, the Sisterhood, even to his death, is an undoubted fact.

The attack on Miss Sellon's society aroused wide public interest. Sir William S. Harris wrote: "I have observed in passing the shop windows redolent with announcements of controversial tracts on this question." [6] This publicity probably helped to spread the Sisterhood idea. At least it did not kill Miss Sellon's institution. A number of the Sisters at Devonport accompanied Florence Nightingale to the Crimea.[7] One of these, Margaret Goodman, found on her return that the monastic tendencies had developed so far that it was impossible for her to remain a member.[8]

[1] Trench, *The Story of Dr. Pusey's Life* (London, 1900), p. 278.

[2] Cookesley, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[3] Cookesley, *op. cit.*, p. 14; *cf.* Spurrell, *Miss Sellon and the Sisters of Mercy*, p. 23.

[4] Cookesley, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[5] Kelway, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[6] *Guardian*, April 7, 1852, p. 227.

[7] Dock, *A History of Nursing*, ii, 278.

[8] *Chronicle of Convocation*, 1861-1863, p. 965. Speech of the Bishop of Llandaff.

Yet the Sisterhood continued to grow and spread. The Mother House now forms a stately pile of buildings, called generally "The Abbey," and is the property of the Society of the Holy Trinity, commonly known as the Ascot Sisterhood.[1]

From the standpoint of social work the Sisterhood merited praise, in spite of its monastic excesses. "It is perhaps true, however, that some of the ceremonials instituted by Miss Sellon and Dr. Pusey lent themselves easily to the ridicule of the irreverent. Nevertheless the exquisitely refining influence of the Sister's atmosphere should not be forgotten by critics, for this must remain as their most precious contribution to the social life around them. The love of beauty, with the consistent determination to bring it into the lives of the people, and a sensitive consideration for the feelings of the poor, were abiding principles with Miss Sellon, and so sordid and hideous appears to have been the lot of the poor by whom she was surrounded that this should ever be remembered of her gratefully." [2]

SEC. IV. SOCIETY OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

The work of Miss Sellon had its origin in the necessity of educating the poor. There was at this time another social need attracting the attention of the church. This was the condition of the prostitutes, or fallen women. The Rev. John Armstrong seems to have been the originator of the Church Penitentiary movement.[3] He sought to enlist public interest by articles in the *Quarterly Review,* September, 1848, in the *Christian Remembrancer,* January,

[1] Kelway, *op. cit.,* p. 65.

[2] Dock, *A History of Nursing,* ii, p. 79.

[3] Carter, *Life and Letters,* ed. by W. H. Hutchings (London, 1903), p. 80.

1849, and in the *English Review,* March, 1849.[1] Archdeacon Manning's sermons, entitled "Saints and Penitents," also gave an impulse to the movement;[2] while Mr. R. Brett had a plan for a penitentiary in charge of a Warden, Sub-Warden and Sisters.[3] But the man who carried the penitentiary system out into practice on a large scale and connected it with the Sisterhood movement was Thomas Thellusson Carter.

While Armstrong was making his appeal for public support, the Houses of Mercy at Clewer and Wantage arose independently of his plans and consultation, the former opening in June, 1849, and the latter in the autumn of the same year.[4] The former is of interest in this story for it was here that Carter worked and it was at this house that he began his Sisterhood.

Carter was the rector of Clewer, and his curate was the Rev. C. Wellington Johnson. In that parish was a most miserable district, known as Clewer St. Stephens and one of the worst social problems of this district was that of the abandoned women.[5] "Through the influence of the widow of a clergyman, Mrs. Tennant, and the zeal of Mr. Wellington Johnson (afterwards Archdeacon Furse) a few fallen women had been drawn to give up evil ways, and through her great kindness had found a temporary abode in Mrs. Tennant's house. These formed a nucleus and others gathered around them. Thus began the pentitentiary work at Clewer.[6] Mrs. Tennant had been the keeper of a school and hence her house was better adapted to such a work than

[1] Carter, *A Memoir of John Armstrong* (Oxford, 1857), pp. 233-234.
[2] Carter, *op. cit.,* p. 80.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 214.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 237.
[5] Carter, *Life of Harriet Monsell* (London, 1884), p. 30.
[6] Carter, *Life and Letters,* pp. 82-83.

many others. On June 29, 1849, two prostitutes took up their abode, and on the next day four more. Within four months, eighteen were housed there.[1] The first plan was to hold them only temporarily, but soon the idea of a permanent house arose. In February, 1851 Mrs. Tennant was forced by poor health to give up her part in the work.[2]

The House of Mercy was now established, but the question of workers was much under consideration. Armstrong at first had preferred widows to unmarried women as workers among these fallen women.[3] Carter, however, felt that a Sisterhood, regulated by the rules of a religious life, was the only efficient agency.[4] His reasons are well stated by him as follows:

> Sisterhoods, or the system of religious communities, were a legitimate and necessary, but yet a developed, advance upon the first simple theory (of penitentiary work). It is manifestly impossible for ladies to bear the burden of such works single-handed. Moreover, where even a few are constantly working together, some order is requisite to give unity and power to the work. There must be constituted authority and fixed rule, and this according to some church form.[5]

Thus the Sisterhood was the outgrowth of the social need; and yet the pentitentiary work was the occasion rather than the cause of the Sisterhood. Carter had felt the desire for some time of reviving conventual life. "In the manuscript notes which Mr. Carter left for his children, he writes that he 'had long dreamed of having a share in some way in the restoration of Religious Communities, an idea, I fancy,

[1] Carter, *Life of Harriet Monsell,* pp. 30-31.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 32.
[3] Carter, *A Memoir of John Armstrong,* p. 221.
[4] Armstrong, *Appeal for the Formation of a Church Penitentiary* (London, 1849), Appendix by T. T. Carter, p. 15.
[5] Carter, *A Memoir of John Armstrong,* p. 246.

first started in my mind from some remarks of Southey in his 'Book of the Church,' in which he expressed his hope of their revival.'" [1] With this idea in his mind, Carter added several new features to the penitentiary movement as begun by Armstrong. Among these were: (1) Voluntary confession; (2) Sisterhoods to care for the penitents; (3) Opportunity for a Magdalen career, although not as a full Sister; (4) Reception of lady penitents, who were kept separate but under the same rule.[2]

The development of a Sisterhood at the Clewer House of Mercy came about rather indirectly. In 1851 the Rev. Charles A. Harris came to give all his attention to the penitentiary work there.[3] He had married a sister of Harriet Monsell, who came to live with Mr. and Mrs. Harris. The idea of a Sister's life attracted her and she formally devoted herself to it on May 29, 1851.[4] She became a household member of the House of Mercy in 1852 and in the summer of that year, two other ladies joined her in the religious life.[5] Mrs. Monsell was formally professed as a Sister and installed as Superior on St. Andrew's Day, 1852.[6] She was of a practical and motherly type, quite different from the common idea of a Roman Catholic Superior. It is interesting therefore to note her conception of a Sister's life: I suppose the Sisters must always be ready to leave God for God (as they say) to leave God in devotion to work for God in those for whom He shed His blood; or rather bearing

[1] Carter, J. F. M., *Life and Work of the Rev. T. T. Carter* (London, 1911), p. 102. Another evidence of Southey's influence in the revival of monastic life among women. Carter's close connection with Pusey and the Tractarians is also shown by his letters, *vide, Life and Letters,* pp. 21-25.

[2] Carter, *Life and Letters,* pp. 83-86.

[3] Carter, *Life of Harriet Monsell,* p. 35.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 40.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 37.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 40.

God about them, to be ready to use broken prayers for themselves and for them. I don't think that Martha's work will hurt Mary's contemplation in this life, so that both are really about our Lord.[1]

This idea of combining the active and the contemplative life in the religious community was shared by Carter. His conception of a Sister's life is well shown in the Constitutions of the community:

The community of St. John the Baptist is instituted for the promotion of the honor and worship due to Almighty God, for the cultivation of the counsels and graces which He has taught as the way of perfection, and for active service both in spiritual and corporal works of mercy. The Sisters voluntarily offer themselves to Almighty God that through the sacramental power of a life thus dedicated to Him in poverty, chastity and obedience, they may in lowliness, detachment and hiddenness of heart, cherish Christ in themselves and reveal Him to others after the example of St. John the Baptist. . . .[2]

Thus it is seen that Carter desired a more practical and less contemplative life than did Pusey.[3] He did not turn to foreign ideals, but aimed to appreciate the English character. Yet he had great admiration for the Saints;[4] and his emphasis on the regard for these, together with his care for the Sisters' books of spiritual instructions,[5] lends some credence to the statement of a very moderate critic that "the first object (of the Sisterhood) is not charity but devotion —devotion kept alive by external aids in the performance of infinite and infinitesimal minutiae."[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[2] Quoted in Carter, *Life and Letters*, p. 101.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 104.
[5] *Cf.* Spiritual directions and books to be used, *ibid.*, pp. 124-125.
[6] Wister, Sarah B., in *Lippincott's Magazine*, ix, 570 (1872).

A comprehensive and natural view of the nature of a Sisterhood was given by Carter at the Church Congress at Stoke-on-Trent, 1875. It is as follows:

A Sisterhood, as distinguished from other kinds of associated communities of women, implies a vocation to live and work wholly and undividedly for God, as a permanent state; an aptitude for devotion and useful service; a religious rule; fellowship in prayer and work binding all together; a gradation of offices with recognized authority; rights and customs carefully guarded; and a systematic way of adapting the capacities and dispositions of the different members of the community to the necessities of the work undertaken. The organization becomes complete when through the Bishop's sanction the seal of the blessing of the Church is set upon it.[1]

With this comprehensive definition of a Sisterhood set forth, it is well to see how Carter's plan worked out in certain specific lines. In regard to virginity, he went back to Christ [2] and to St. Paul [3] for his authority in maintaining it as a higher life for those who can bear it. After twenty-five years' experience in Sisterhood work, he wrote: "The virgin life is not instituted, indeed, like marriage, as a law of nature, to be sanctified by grace; but it is announced as a special gift of grace, to be impressed upon nature, in those who are able to receive it." [4] Carter accepted a modification of the Roman Catholic idea of the Sister as the "Bride of Christ." "'In the Sisterhood life there is an accentuating of the calling which in truth belongs to the whole church, to be the "Bride of Christ."'" [5] The chas-

[1] Quoted in Carter, *Life and Letters*, p. 102.

[2] Matt. 19:12.

[3] I Cor., 7.

[4] Carter, *Life and Letters*, pp. 110-111. Quoted from *Are Vows of Celibacy in Early Life Inconsistent with the Word of God?* 1878.

[5] Carter, *Life of Harriet Monsell*, Introd., p. 12. Quoting from Webb, *Sisterhood Life and Woman's Work*, pp. 64-65.

tity of the Sisters was carefully guarded. Visits of relatives were permitted at any time, but "the visits of other friends and the time of such visits must be previously approved by the Superior." [1] Moreover, "the Sisters shall not speak to the penitents nor allow the penitents to speak to them concerning their former sins." [2]

As to poverty, another essential mark of the monastic state, "in the Clewer Community, it is understood to mean the entire surrender of all that may be possessed, so that a Sister should have no longer any property whatever at her own disposal, for purposes of personal use or enjoyment. She may be possessed of capital, but the annual proceeds must be given either to the Community Fund or to objects external to the Community, according to the agreement made with the Warden and Superior at the time of her Profession.[3] This statement is confirmed by the testimony of G. E. Freeman, the Solicitor of the Society, before the Parliamentary commission. He said that the Sisters could hold no property, a regulation equivalent to a vow of poverty, but that "the Sisters take no life vows." [4] Each Sister is supposed to contribute to the Sisterhood the equivalent of £50 a year if able. Sisters can not take away any property they bring in, for it would be all spent.[5] A council of finance for the Sisterhood, composed of the Superior, Assistant Superior, and five Sisters elected annually, have full control of the money and expenditures.[6] Precautions are taken to prevent the charge of inducing Sisters to give up their property, so frequently made against Miss Sellon's Sisterhood and Roman Catholic orders. Rule 17 reads:

[1] Rule 52, quoted in *Parliamentary Report*, 1870, vii, p. 227.
[2] Rule 56, quoted, *ibid.*, p. 228.
[3] Carter, *Life and Work of T. T. Carter*, pp. 108-109.
[4] *Parliamentary Report*, 1870, vii, 190.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

In the event of any Sister desiring to give or bequeath any property to the community, or any of its houses, she shall satisfy the Visitor that she has informed the next of kin, or the next in degree, if more than one (or give to the Visitor a sufficient reason for her not having done so) of her intention, that any objections on their part may be duly considered, and that they may have opportunity of laying such objections before the Visitor.[1]

A third, and perhaps the most mooted, question was that of vows. "When the Clewer Rule was formed the bishop (Wilberforce) insisted on its being inserted in the forefront that the Community was formed without vows. It was not long before Sisters came who desired vows, in the consciousness that they would be a support to their life and true expression of their religious vocation. As soon as these cases occurred, the bishop was consulted." [2] Carter said: "I see no reason to refuse them," and added, "the bishop left me free to do as I thought well." Hence "they were commonly taken as a matter of free allowance, and the bishop knew it and left the matter thus free." [3] Later Bishop Stubbs allowed it to be inserted in the Rule that vows are taken.[4] Sarah B. Wister says that on her visit she learned that vows were taken for life.[5] There are conflicting statements, however, in regard to the taking of vows. Freeman, the solicitor, testified: "The Sisters take no vows. I do not know whether they feel that they would be at liberty to withdraw whenever they chose." [6] And later he qualified this statement, thus: "When I say there are no vows, I should probably say that there are no life

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 226.
[2] Carter, *Life and Letters*, pp. 108-109.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Lippincott's Magazine*, ix, 568 (1872).
[6] *Parliamentary Report*, vii, p. 192 (1870).

vows; that any Sister is at liberty to leave the institution at any time." [1] But he does not know of any instance of a withdrawal. The best explanation of these conflicting testimonies seems to be that while no vows were required, their equivalent was really understood. This conception of a perpetual state equivalent to a life under vows, is implied in the Rules as quoted by Freeman: "The Sisterhood is formed without vows, for the observance of the rules of poverty, chastity and obedience, in which state of life the Sisters offer themselves perpetually to God to live alone for his glory, in the love of Christ, and to serve him in the persons of his poor and suffering ones." [2] Whether vows were actually taken, there is no doubt that, in Carter's mind,[3] the Sister made her profession for life. The question of vows, therefore, seemed to him more or less superfluous. In later years he wrote:

Much has been said of late, and much that I can not but deem needlessly alarming and unreasonable, on the vexed question of vows. At the late Reading Congress, at the end of the morning's debate on the comparative merits of the Sisterhood and Deaconess principles, it was generally felt that they agreed in representing the self-devotion intended in either state as life-long. And a vow is but the outward expression of a life-long devotion. It simply implies a vocation of God, in which one so called should abide with Him to the end.[4]

The organization of this Sisterhood was regarded as more or less a model for Anglican conventual institutions.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 194. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

[3] "It has always been the feeling of the Sisters that their purpose and conviction is a life-long dedication of themselves. . . . They assume it as a preliminary; that if thought worthy to be a Sister at all, it must be for life." Letter of Carter, Jan. 2, 1863, in Carter, *Life and Letters*, p. 104.

[4] Carter, *Life of Harriet Monsell*, Introd., pp. 12-13.

[5] Wister, *Lippincott's Magazine*, ix, 565 (1872).

Some of its features are therefore worthy of notice. There were two orders of Sisters—the first order was divided into two classes. The postulancy lasted six months; the noviciate, two years for the first class and four years for the second class, after which the member was in full fellowship and was called a "confirmed Sister." [1] The second order consisted of those who do not live entirely in the community. While there, they conformed to all the rules; while at home, they conformed their dress and mode of life to their special profession.[2] There were also Sisters Associate, single women not in the community, who devoted themselves to live by the same rule so far as possible. There were other Associates, ladies in their own homes aiding by prayers and funds. Another feature was the entrance requirements. Sisters could not join until 30 years of age without the consent of their parents. In 1870 Freeman testified: "There are old and young, but most of the old ones have been there a good many years." [3] Sisters were required to be members of the Church of England.[4] At time of Profession, the members made known their adherence by declaration and by signature.[5]

As in other Anglican Sisterhoods, care was taken to keep in harmony with the Church. The Bishop of Oxford was Visitor and approved the rules.[6] If the bishop should refuse at any time, some other Visitor was to be appointed. The government of the Sisterhood was kept separate from that of the House of Mercy and under a different board of trustees. The trustees of the former were the Warden, the

[1] *Ibid.* p. 567. *Cf. Parliamentary Report,* 1870, vii, 189.
[2] *Parliamentary Report,* 1870, vii, 189.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 192.
[4] Wister, in *Lippincott's Magazine,* ix, 568.
[5] *Parliamentary Report,* 1870, vii, 193.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 189.

Superior and the Treasurer.[1] The first Warden was T. T. Carter, and the sub-deacon in 1870 was the Rev. William Henry Hutchings, his biographer.[2]

The devotional life of the Sisters was carefully superintended by the Warden. Accordingly to Rule 33, the religious books and habits of devotion were to be such only as prescribed by him.[3] Holy Communion was celebrated daily.[4] The Sisterhood performed no religious offices in connection with the patients in the hospital. The Warden attended to these religious duties. The Sisters worked among the poor as religious people under the direction of the clergy of the parish. They visited people of every faith.[5] Sisters attended usually the private chapel which Freeman thought had not been consecrated legally.[6]

The growth of the Sisterhood has been a good proof of its splendid organization. In 1870 the attorney for the Society said there were about 80 Sisters, of whom about 20 lived in the House of Mercy at Clewer.[7] Branch houses have been established in many cities throughout England, in the United States and elsewhere.[8] Harriet Monsell remained as Superior until 1876 and Carter as Warden until 1902. To the ideals and the work of these two persons, therefore, the Sisterhood is indebted for its character and its development. Judged by its growth and social work, it is perhaps deserving of Sarah B. Wister's comment: "Among the numerous communities, that of Clewer is universally spoken of as the most successful example of an Anglican Sisterhood; great praise is given to its hospitals

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 227.
[4] Rule 29. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 191.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 189.
[8] Carter, *Life of Harriet Monsell*, pp. 124-127. *Cf.* Rich, L. C., in *The Churchman*, July 6, 1907; *cf.* Carter, *Life and Letters*, pp. 85-98.

and the nursing of its Sisters, even by those who do not think well of the mode of life." [1]

SEC. V. ST. MARGARET'S SISTERHOOD. EAST GRINSTEAD

One other Sisterhood will be treated here because it was called forth by a new type of social work. Pusey at Park Village began with the pretense at least of general slum work; Miss Sellon at Devonport, with the education of the poor; and Carter at Clewer, with the redemption of the prostitutes. Another specialized social work, which has been perhaps more distinctively the Sisters' field, was that of nursing. It was the need of nurses that gave John Mason Neale the plan of his Sisterhood. On Feb. 1, 1855, he wrote:

> You know that five or six years ago, it was a favorite speculation of mine, how it would be possible even to get at the scattered collection of houses in our great Sussex parishes, so as positively to evangelize them as you might do a heathen country. Some three or four years ago Fowler had an idea that by nurses, trained both physically and religiously, something might be done. . . . The idea remained in my mind, and I worked it out by degrees.[2]

It must not be supposed, however, that Neale's first idea of a conventual order began in 1850, or that it was inspired wholly by the need of better nursing. As in the case of Carter, the social work was the occasion, rather than the cause, of the Sisterhood. In 1843, Neale had written *Ayton Priory*, one of the strongest arguments in behalf of monastic revival produced by the whole Tractarian party. He openly stated his purpose:

[1] *Lippincott's Magazine*, ix, 565.

[2] *Letters of John Mason Neale*. Ed. by His Daughter (London, 1910), p. 233.

There is, perhaps, hardly any subject which has recently occupied a larger share of the attention of the Churchmen than the possibility and expediency of a revival of the Monastick System. . . . The following tale is intended, as well to set forth the advantages, and all but necessity, of the reintroduction of monasteries, as to suggest certain practical details connected with their establishment and subsequent working.[1]

He is familiar with the testimony of the early church and of the seventeenth century divines in their favor.

His presentation of the advantages of a monastic revival is so strong and comprehensive that it should be quoted here. The arguments are:

That monasteries have from the earliest times existed in every branch of the church; that the blessing of the intercessory prayer constantly made in them is incalculable; that the church system, involving nightly, as well as daily, supplication, can nowhere else be fully acted out; that a body of men, deeply read in ecclesiastical history and controversy and surrounded by an atmosphere of church feeling, would be fostered in them, which would be ready to oppose any new attack of heresy or infidelity; that colleges can not in this respect possess the same advantages; that self-discipline could in religious houses be practiced more regularly, and closer communion with God be more attainable; that they would be invaluable as abodes for young men between their leaving the university and entering on the cure of souls, as supplying a course of training, intellectual, moral and religious; that aged priests might be thus provided with an asylum, who now though physically unequal to their duty, must either retain it or be reduced to poverty; that important ecclesiastical works might here be undertaken with the advantage of uninterrupted opportunities and leisure, hallowed by religion and a division of labor; that an asylum would be furnished for such as were without funds, or who, in the decline of life, wished to devote all their time and

[1] Neale, *Ayton Priory* (London, 1843), Preface, p. ii.

thoughts to the preparation for their approaching change; that those who are immersed in business or otherwise entangled in worldly pursuits, might here, in such seasons as Lent or Advent, find a place of salutary retirement; that the diminution of personal and other expenses on the part of the inmates would set free a large portion of wealth for the service of God; that the poor might be tended in them, both spiritually and corporeally.[1]

Neale was also interested in the chief handmaiden of monasticism, virginity. In his *Annals of the Virgin Saints,*[2] he makes it clear that he regards virginity as a "higher and holier state." He writes: "And there is another class—and it is for them that I write—whom parity of sex, of age and of circumstance, will cause to direct their thoughts to those Flowers of Purity, Celestial Gems, Brides of the Immaculate Lamb, the Virgin Saints." [3] So far did Neale advance toward the Roman position in matters of ritual, that the Bishop of Chichester inhibited him in 1846.[4] Whatever denial may be made of his Roman tendencies, his admiration for Roman monasteries is clear. Writing to his wife in 1849 from the monastery of La Grande Chartreuse, Dauphiné, he says: "It seems to me like a dream that I am really in this place, which I have so long thought of, and so much wished to see. It surpasses all my expectations in every way." [5]

From his own writings it may be concluded that Neale, like the Tractarians, desired monastic orders of both sexes, but adapting himself to the social conditions, chose the one more likely to win popular support, *viz,* the Sisterhood. A

[1] *Ibid.,* Preface, pp. 6-8.
[2] London, 1846; Preface, pp. 24-26.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 24.
[4] *Letters of John Mason Neale,* p. 99.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 118.

man's motives however can not be exactly determined. Hence Miss Towle may be equally correct in saying: "Neale was versed in the chronicles of the monastic orders and the lives of the Saints, but at this moment (c. 1854) he was inspired not so much by the desire to restore the conventual discipline as by an impulse of pity to raise the fallen, convert the unbelieving, and minister to the sick." [1] Without passing further opinion on Neale's motives, it may be said that he desired monasteries on principle and he saw the suffering of the poor around him; and from these two ideas he evolved a nursing Sisterhood. As he beheld the misery of the rural population around East Grinstead, he remembered the labors of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Francis de Sales and St. Vincent de Paul, and the parochial machinery seemed inadequate.[2]

Neale had cherished his friend Fowler's idea of a body of nurses which had been laid before him about 1851 or 1852, but which had produced no practical results.[3] After this Neale had seen the good done by a partially trained nurse at Horley. He happened to know three women who were anxious and able to join a Sisterhood, but did not know which one to join.[4] These appeared to him a nucleus, if he could secure coöperation. He wrote to the most favorable of his friends, Fowler, Maberly, Wheeler, Weguelin, Carnegie, Hunt, Gream, Antrobus, *et al.* and found them all enthusiastic. Neale was opposed to the pseudo-asceticism of the Devonport Sisterhood, but he visited the Clewer institution twice and received much counsel and help from the Superior. Fortunately just at this time Neale found a suitable Superior for his future

[1] Towle, *John Mason Neale, A Memoir* (London, 1906), p. 234.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 232-233.
[3] *Letters of John Mason Neale*, p. 233 *et seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*

Sisterhood—Miss Gream, a woman of forty-five, accustomed all her life to parish work. His plan was fast taking form. He writes:

With the help of some of our friends I drew up some rules, based on those of Clewer, so far as the great difference of design would permit. The scheme then resolved itself into this: to have a central house—at present somewhere—hereafter, when we get a new Bishop, connected (if it can be so) with this Chapel, in which we may have a community of trained Sisters, ready to be sent out at the Superior's discretion gratuitously to any Parish Priest within a circuit of (say) twenty-five miles, that may need their services in nursing any of his people; he to be responsible, so far as may be, for their management, safety, etc., while they are in his parish.[1]

The way for Neale's further progress was made easier by the work of Florence Nightingale. Her work in the Crimea silenced those who contended that delicately nurtured women were incapable of bearing physical hardships and that voluntary work had not a value of its own.[2] When Neale began to solicit funds his success exceeded his expectations. His next step was to find a suitable hospital in which to train the Sisters as nurses. Westminster Hospital opened its doors to receive them. By this time Neale had a prospect of seven or eight nurses.[3] He sent out a statement of his scheme, without using the name of Sisterhood, to the 210 parishes in his district. By these steps was laid the foundation of the St. Margaret's Sisterhood and in June, 1856 nine Sisters took up their abode in their first Sisterhood house at East Grinstead.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 234.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 235; *cf.* Towle, *John Mason Neale*, p. 234.
[3] Letter of Feb. 1, 1855, in *Letters of John Mason Neale*, p. 235.
[4] Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

Before tracing the progress of the Sisterhood, mention should be made of the advisers and supporters of Neale. They reveal the temper of the times. Lord Salisbury wrote him: "A scheme for organizing a Society of Nursing Sisters, under proper regulations would undoubtedly be one in which I should be most happy to join, and I should be really glad to assist such an establishment as far as lies in my power." [1] But he feared it would lead to another attack on Sackville College.[2] The Mother Superior of Clewer approved and advised. R. M. Benson, later Superior of the Cowley Fathers, was communicated with and gave a long letter of advice and approbation. William J. E. Bennett, a leader of the Ritualists, said he needed the Sisters in his parish, but the name "Sister" would set the town ablaze.[3] The question of the Sisterhood was brought up at the meeting of the Rural Deans of Chichester in 1855.[4] There was some little disputation about it. The Archdeacon, favored the plan, and the Bishop said that when the rules came before him he would give all the help he could. The Balcome and Frant Deaneries later pronounced in favor of the plan. Thus while the approval was far from unanimous,[5] there seems to have been no such bitter opposition as in the case of Miss Sellon. England was becoming accustomed to the idea of Sisterhoods, and Florence Nightingale had immortalized the particular form of service which Neale was to undertake.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 236-237.

[2] Sackville College, of which Neale was Warden, had been attacked by mobs on account of Neale's supposed Roman Catholic tendencies.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

[4] *Letters of John Mason Neale*, p. 239.

[5] The Vicar of East Grinstead abhorred the Sisters. "The first case of infectious fever," he said, "which I have I will ask them to undertake it, and then perhaps we shall get rid of them." (*Ibid.*, p. 279.)

As to the Rule of the Sisterhood, Neale said he had made an adaptation of Carter's.[1] Miss Towle throws a little additional light on the matter. She says that he had founded his Rule upon that of the Visitation of St. Francis de Sales before St. Francis converted his community into a cloistered order; but it had its origin in the principles governing the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.[2] Neale's admiration for, and visit to, the Roman convents on the Continent made him more imitative of Roman Catholic orders than was Carter. Describing a Convent of the Sisters of Charity he said that it reminded him of his own Sisterhood.[3]

The requirements for admission, as they existed in 1907, are as follows:

No one is admitted as a Sister unless in communion with the Church of England, nor if under the age of 25, without the written consent of her parents. Before one who fulfills these conditions can become a Postulant she must remain some time in the House as a visitor. She may then be admitted as a Postulant and must remain in that state for six months. The Postulant who appears satisfactory may then, if she wishes to persevere, be proposed for election as a Novice, and if she has in her favor a majority of the votes of the Professed Sisters she enters the Noviciate, which lasts at least two years for a Choir Novice and four years for a Lay Novice. A Novice requires two-thirds of the votes of the Sisters who have themselves been professed two years in order to be admitted to Profession. The final vows are taken for life.[4]

The last statement is significant, for vows are the chief matter of dispute in the Sisterhood question.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[2] Towle, *John Mason Neale*, p. 234.

[3] *Letters of John Mason Neale*, p. 289.

[4] Hutton, Chaplain of St. Margaret's Sisterhood, in *Pax*, Dec., 1907, p. 332.

Of the daily routine of services in the Mother House Neale gives an account. He writes in 1856:

I go in at 7, say their Litany for them, and then celebrate. . . . Tierce, Sexts and Nones they generally say for themselves; but on Wednesdays and Fridays I say Sexts for them, and they have a Sermonet directly after. (They always stay in the Oratory from 12 to 1.) Directly after our prayers I read evening prayers for them; and then I take them all together in the common room as a class, to get them up in catechising. That takes till about 7:15. At 9:45 I say Compline for them; and that is the day's routine.[1]

Neale was quite systematic in the practice of receiving confessions.[2]

The novel feature of Neal's organization was that the Sisters lived outside the House, during periods of their nursing work. Applications for assistance were made to the Superior, who could accept or decline. The applicant was required to state: (1) For what purpose the Sister was needed; (2) How long it is probable she may be required; (3) Where it is intended she shall lodge, and what accommodations will be provided for her.[3] The applicant was held responsible for the Sister's safety and her general superintendence. The Sister went into a home, nursed, cooked, mended clothes, and took care of the children. While working in a parish, she often lived at the clergyman's house and dined at his table, a custom which shocked the Clewer Sisters.[4] Neale's Sisterhood was thus more active and less "regular" than the others noted hitherto.

As in the case of the other leading Sisterhoods, the growth of St. Margaret's was remarkable. The work of

[1] *Letters*, pp. 274-275.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 244-249.
[3] *Kalendar of the English Church for 1867* (London, 1868), p. 169.
[4] *Letters*, p. 264.

teaching was combined with that of nursing, and several schools were opened. Branch Houses were established throughout England. Plans were made for a branch in Hawaii, but this mission was finally undertaken by Miss Sellon's Sisterhood.[1]

SEC. VI. A VIEW OF THE SISTERHOOD MOVEMENT IN GENERAL

Some may think that too much space has been given to Sisterhoods in this treatise, inasmuch as they seem less purely monastic than the orders of men. It is true that they present a more varied and less "regular" appearance than the Brotherhoods. This however is not because they are less like the Roman Catholic orders, but because they are more modern in their monastic patterns. Their immediate models for the most part are those of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries abroad,[2] while the Brotherhoods go back to the Benedictine, Franciscan, and other types of that period.

In general there may be said to have been three lines of desire for the religious employment of women at first. "Looking back as our memory serves us, we see three tones of feeling on the subject combining about thirty years ago. The Catholic feeling, longing for the revival of religious orders in the abstract, and making penitentiary work, education or nursing their *raison d'etre;* of which Clewer, All Saints', East Grinstead, and Wantage, with many lesser Sisterhoods are visible effects." [3] Secondly, was the desire to imitate Fliedner,[4] and from this came the deaconess institutions. Thirdly, there was the feeling that nursing could

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

[2] Frere, *English Church Ways* (Milwaukee, 1914), p. 86. *Cf.* Shipley, *The Church and the World,* p. 189 (London, 1867).

[3] *Church Quarterly Review,* x. 394 (July, 1880).

[4] Theodor Fliedner in 1837 founded the first German Protestant establishment for deaconesses at Kaiserswerth.

be better done by highly trained religious women, as *e. g.* at St. John's House.[1]

Likewise a cross-section of the public attitude in 1850 is given by a contemporary. "Many are watching with deep interest the growth of these Institutions, still in their infancy amongst us. Some with unbounded confidence in their success; others with a cautious and a misgiving eye; some with enthusiastic admiration for the system, others with admiration for the self-devoted spirit, but disapproval of this form of its manifestation." [2]

While supporters were gained rapidly, the opposition was not soon silenced. Petitions were sent to Queen Victoria, asking her to warn the clergy against countenancing these institutions.[3] A bill for the inspection of nunneries was introduced in 1853 [4] and this agitation was continued for some time. The writings of ex-Sisters kept up the animosity of many.[5] The ritualistic services in the Sisterhood chapels and the publication of books on confession, the Real Presence etc. were the occasions of bitter attacks.[6] The efficiency of their social work was compared with that of the deaconesses, some maintaining its superiority, others its inferiority.[7] The secession of Sisters to Rome aroused suspicion. "The Sisterhood which was especially under Dr. Pusey's guidance has given no less than 20 of its members to the Church of Rome. . . . What immense influence they are exerting in a quiet way, it is not easy to overesti-

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Sisters of Mercy in the Church of England* (London, 1850), p. 4.

[3] Seymour, *Convents or Nunneries* (Bath, 1852), p. 60.

[4] *Guardian,* June 8, 1853.

[5] Walsh, *Secret History of the Oxford Movement* (London, 1899), p. 186.

[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 199-200.

[7] Shipley, *The Church and the World,* 1867, pp. 173-174; *cf. Quarterly Review,* cviii, 378; *Fraser's Magazine,* lxxxiv, 639 (1871).

mate." [1] The reports of austerities,[2] of private burial grounds within the convents,[3] of the securing of property,[4] of superstitious customs,[5] and of the difficulty in leaving Sisterhoods [6] all tended to inflame the public mind against the communities.

Yet in spite of the bitter attacks, these communities have grown at a remarkable rate. Some prominent church authorities have estimated that there are twice as many Sisters in Anglican Religious Orders to-day as there were before the suppression under Henry VIII.[7]

In the beginning of this chapter it was seen that the Sisterhoods were started earlier than the Brotherhoods because of their broader basis in authority and their wider social appeal. It was due to this wide social appeal that they continued to grow so rapidly. For instance, from the time of Southey and Gooch, the cry for better nursing was never silenced. The church leaders recognized the

[1] Everard, *Danger and Duty* (London, 1890), p. 11.

[2] Walsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 192.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 171; *cf.* Goodman, *Sisterhoods in the Church of England*, p. 113.

[7] Weller, *Religious Orders in the Anglican Communion* (Milwaukee, 1909), pp. 37-38. *The Dictionary of English Church History*, ed. S. L. Ollard, p. 503, estimates the number at time of suppression at 745 and in 1909 about 1300. Bishop C. C. Grafton gave 5000 as the present number of Sisters. *Works* (New York, 1914), v, 306.

For list of the orders, their origins, houses, and works, *vide* Kelway, *The Story of the Catholic Revival* (London, 1914), p. 124; Weller, *Religious Orders, etc.*, Appendix, pp. 37-38; *Official Year Book of the Church of England* (London, 1916); also Appendix v.

For earlier accounts, which furnish interesting comparisons, *vide* Shipley, *The Church and the World*, 1867, pp. 191-194.

Trench, *English Sisterhoods in the Nineteenth Century*, xvi, 339 (Aug., 1884).

beneficial labors of the Sisters of Charity on the Continent.[1] The work of Miss Nightingale not only helped Neale's Sisterhood as we have seen but the fact that she chose eight Anglican Sisters for her first party [2] and paid a glowing tribute to their effectiveness [3] served to win popular approval throughout England. The praise bestowed upon the Sisters as nurses by medical men and the manifest improvement accomplished helped to give them a professional standing.[4]

In addition to the special appeal for better nursing the Sisterhood work had a vital connection with a larger movement for the social and industrial recognition of women. The first two decades of the Sisterhood growth were the period of John Stuart Mill, Mrs. Anna Jameson and other prominent advocates of woman's emancipation. A contemporary writes that the two chief fears in the minds of the Sisterhood's opponents were those of encouraging "woman's rights" and Romish nunneries.[5] The advocates of Sisterhoods and Deaconess institutions lay great stress on the need of finding suitable employment for the single women and those forced to self-support.[6] The subject elicited numerous articles in the current literature of the time, lengthy discussions in the Convocations, and even a speech by the Prince Consort.[7] According to the census of 1851, there were more than 500,000 surplus women in

[1] *Guardian,* iii, 467 (July 19, 1848).

[2] Dock, *History of Nursing,* ii, 114 *et seq.*

[3] Meadows, in Shipley, *The Church and the World,* 1866, p. 137.

[4] Meadows, *ibid.; cf.* also Jenner, the Physician at University College Hospital, in Shipley, *The Church anr the World,* 1867, p. 171.

[5] Stevenson, *Praying and Working* (New York, 1863), p. 244.

[6] Howson, *Deaconesses* (London, 1862), Preface. *Cf.* Jameson, *Sisters of Charity and the Communion of Labor,* 2nd ed. (Boston, 1857).

[7] Howson, *op. cit.,* Preface; *cf.* Ludlow, *Woman's Work in the Church,* 1866.

the United Kingdom.[1] In the census of 1861, there were reported to be 573,530 more women than men.[2] In 1851, it was estimated that one half of the 6,000,000 adult women labored for their support and that about 2,000,000 were unmarried.[3] However unreliable these figures may be, the problem appeared to be a pressing one, and the Sisterhoods, by promising a partial solution made a wide social appeal.[4]

Other reasons given for the rapid growth of conventual communities of women in comparison with those of men are: (1) The very opposition to, and the obscurity of, the work attracted certain devoted people; (2) Men were finding an outlet for their ascetic desires on the mission field; and (3) Families could dedicate a daughter to the religious life more easily than a son.[5]

With the broad social appeal, linked to the religious interest in the minds of the promoters, the Sisterhoods have become a great factor in the history of the English Church during the last century. The following statement is not that of a Sister but one for which the present Archbishop of Canterbury is responsible: "When the time hereafter comes for estimating and comparing the various church movements of this century in England, it is probable that the first place as regards utility and strength will be assigned to the revival of Sisterhood life as an active constituent in the church's work." [6]

[1] Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[2] Howson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[4] *Fraser's Magazine*, lxxxiv, 638 (1871).
[5] Woodhouse, *Monasticism, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1896), pp. 309-311. *Cf.* Benson, in *The Literary Churchman*, April 5, 1889.
[6] Davidson and Benham, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, 2 vols. (London, 1891), i, 449. *Cf.* Carter, *Life and Letters*, Preface, p. 5.

CHAPTER VI

Communities of Men

SEC. I. NEWMAN'S RETREAT AT LITTLEMORE

In Chapter IV we traced the agitation of the Tractarian leaders for the revival of male monastic orders. It was seen that before 1845 these rather than the Sisterhoods were emphasized; and in fact Newman actually put his ideas into practice. Although this attempt was soon cut short by the secession of the members to the Roman faith, a brief account of it forms a fitting introduction to a chapter on the Anglican monasteries.

On May 28, 1840 Newman wrote to Mrs. J. Mozley: "We have bought nine or ten acres of ground at Littlemore, and so be it in due time, shall erect a monastic house upon it." [1] Eight days before he had written in similar vein to the Rev. Thomas Mozley: "We have bought nine acres and want to erect a 'μονη.' Give me some hint about building. . . . The cells to be added as required, being 9 or 10 ft. high." [2] Again on June 10th, Newman wrote to Mozley: "I have got another idea. It is to have the cells upon a cloister, as at Magdalen. . . . It would have a fireplace only in the kitchen and refectory." [3]

[1] *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman during His Life in the English Church*, ed. by Anne Mozley, 2 vols. (London, 1891), ii, 305.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 304

[3] *Ibid.*

This building was not actually started until February, 1842. Newman improved a disused range of stables, forming a library, some cells, i. e. studies, and a cloister.[1] One requirement made by Newman was that he should be able to see the ruins of the Mynchery convent. Frederick Oakeley, a friend of Newman, said the building was known as the "Littlemore Monastery," and "the fact is generally known that the life at Littlemore was founded upon the rule of the strictest Religious Orders." [2] The institution aroused much curiosity, and many people came to visit and to criticise.[3] Their criticisms caused the Bishop of Oxford to write a letter of inquiry, April 12, 1842. In reply Newman denied that he was building a monastery. His letter is interesting in view of his previous words to Mrs. Mozley:

For many years, at least thirteen, I have wished to give myself to a life of greater religious regularity than I have hitherto led; . . . The resolution has been taken with reference to myself alone. . . . In pursuing it I am thinking of myself alone, not aiming at any ecclesiastical or external effects. At the same time it would be a great comfort to me to know that God had put it into the hearts of others to pursue their personal edification in the same way. . . . Your Lordship will allow me to add my firm conviction that such religious resolutions are most necessary for keeping a certain class of minds firm in their allegiance to our church. . . . Your Lordship will perceive from what I have said that no monastery is in process of erection, there is no chapel, no refectory, hardly a dining room or parlor. "The cloisters" are my shed connecting the cottages. I do not understand what "cells or dormitories" mean.[4]

[1] Mozley, Thomas, *Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (London, 1882), ii, 213-214.

[2] *Historical Notes of the Tractarian Movement*, 1865, pp. 93-94; quoted in Walsh, *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, p. 21.

[3] Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

[4] *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, ii, 393-394.

It is difficult to understand how Newman could write such a denial after what he had said to others.[1] Lockhart, one of the members of the community, wrote:

It was a kind of monastic life of retirement, prayer and study. We had a sincere desire to remain in the Church of England if we could be satisfied that in so doing we were members of the world-wide visible communion of Christianity which was of apostolic origin. . . . We rose at midnight to recite the Breviary Office. . . . We fasted according to the practice recommended in Holy Scriptures and practices in the most austere Religious Orders of Eastern and Western Christendom.[2]

According to a second writer,[3] the festivals and offices of the Roman liturgy were observed. The Oratory had no altar; on the table between two candlesticks was placed a large crucifix. The rising at midnight to recite the Breviary was changed to 6 A. M. One slight change was made in the Breviary to accommodate it to the Thirty-nine Articles, viz. in the invocation of saints. The meditation and examination were made each day, the confession every week, and the communion frequently. Outside of the prayers and services each one read in his study; and reading was held during meals.

A glimpse of the daily routine is given by Mark Pattison

[1] *Cf.* also his letter to Pusey Mar. 17, 1840: "Since I have been up here an idea has revived in my mind, of which we have before now talked, viz., of building a Monastic House in the place and coming up to live in it myself." Liddon, *Life of Pusey,* ii, 135; *cf.* also Letter to James Hope-Scott, Jan. 3, 1842, in Ormsby, *Memoir of James Robert Hope-Scott of Abbotsford,* 2 vols. (London, 1884), ii, 6.

[2] *Biography of Father Lockhart,* p. 35; quoted in Walsh, *op. cit.,* p. 26.

[3] Thureau-Dangin, *The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century,* revised and re-ed. by Wilfrid Wilberforce (London, 1914), i, 255 *et seq.*

who spent two weeks at Littlemore in 1843. "Oct. 1st, Sunday—St. John called me at 5:30, and at 6 went to Matins, which with Lauds and Prime take about an hour and a half; afterwards returned to my room and prayed with some effect, I think. Tierce at 9, and at 11 church communion. . . . Thirty-seven communicants. Returned and had breakfast. Had some discomfort at waiting for food so long. . . . Walked up and down with St. John in the garden; Newman afterwards joined us. . . . At 3 to church; then Nones. . . . Vespers at 8. Compline at 9. . . . Went to bed at 10." [1]

Thus by whatever name the institution was called the life was practically monastic. The only element lacking was that of vows, for of these no proof is found. Hence Newman could perhaps excuse himself from the monastic charge by maintaining that it was only a retreat. That it was intended to serve as a retreat for clergy is clear. On Mar. 7, 1843 Newman wrote: "All our beds have been full for months, and I think we must cut our sets of rooms into two to admit more inmates." [2] But there seems to have been a permanent circle of Newman's friends who remained, and the permanence of their state was interrupted only by their secession to Rome following Newman's.[3] The unfortunate outcome of the attempt at Littlemore undoubtedly proved a hindrance to the monastic movement among Anglican men.[4]

[1] Pattison, *Memoirs* (London, 1885), pp. 190-191.

[2] *Letters and Correspondence,* ii, 409.

[3] Walsh, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

[4] When Faber was converted to Romanism he had gathered around him a group of young men at Elton Rectory. With these he had intended to found a community. Their secession added another handicap to the Brotherhood movement of the Anglican Church. *Parliamentary Report,* 1870, vii. Testimony of Rev. W. T. Gordon, p. 126.

SEC. II. THE REVIVED AGITATION FOR BROTHERHOODS

For almost two decades after Newman left Littlemore for Rome, the Church of England heard little of monasteries. The sad memory of that event and the bright promises of the Sisterhood movement served to turn attention elsewhere.[1] In the sixties, however, the Sisterhoods being firmly established, the minds of the High Church wing were turned again toward monastic orders of men. The arguments of Froude, Newman, Neale and other advocates of earlier years were echoed in substance if not in form; and to these some new reasons were added.

A modern Anglican monk has very frankly written: "The real reason for the restoration of the Religious life is that it represents one aspect of the Christian ideal without which the Gospel is misrepresented. But there are lower, utilitarian motives which we must notice." [2] It was these utilitarian motives which were chiefly emphasized in the sixties. For example, clerical celibacy was praised not so much for its intrinsic worth as for its aid to efficiency. It

[1] In this period three men made approaches to monastic institutions. "In 1849 George R. Prynne endeavored to establish a brotherhood at St. Peter's Plymouth. In May, 1855, Edward Steere began a community for men, the Brotherhood of St. James, at Tamworth, but the experiment seems to have failed within a year." Ollard, in *Dictionary of English Church History* (London, 1912), pp. 501-502.

Charles Lowder, leader of the St. George's Mission in London, wrote to his father in 1856: "My desire is to make it a thoroughly Catholic work, a life of poverty and self-denial, and dedication to God's service, and if it may be, the revival of a really Religious Order for missionary workmen trained in holy living for the work of winning souls. Dr. Pusey and others wish me to go." Trench, *Charles Lowder, A Biography* (London, 1885), p. 86. To this end he studied the "Life of St. Vincent de Paul," and actually organized his curates in a Parochial Clergy House. But a regular monastic order was never worked out. In February, 1868, three of his four curates were received into the Roman faith. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[2] Bull, *The Revival of the Religious Life* (New York, 1914), p. 75.

was shown that the single priest is more easily moved from place to place; he has no household worries to distract him; he has no temptation to accumulate wealth; he is not afraid to enter diseased homes; he would have no interests but those of the Church: and with all these advantages, he would be less expensive to the Church.[1]

A second outstanding argument for religious orders was the lack of clergy. The advocates held that the candidates are decreasing, and it is vain to look for this clerical work to be done by the classes from which the clergy are drawn.[2] There are many available men in the lower classes anxious for religous work. They could be secured and trained for work in the slums and missions if monasteries were established.[3] The parish clergy, overworked and too few, can not reach the masses.[4] The success of the Roman Church in reaching these people is due to its friars, who can preach, conduct "missions" and retreats.[5] These friars could furnish a different type of religious service for the masses who are not attracted by the formality of the churches. They would be valuable as Confessors.[6]

Another reason for monastic orders was the desire for the religious life among the curates. They feel the loneliness of their work and the need of cloisters. The taking of these parochial men into the religious life will be balanced by men who find themselves unfitted for celibacy and the "regular" life, and who will therefore come into the secular

[1] Vaux, "Clerical Celibacy," in Shipley, *The Church and the World* (London, 1866), p. 171 *et seq.*

[2] Baring-Gould, "On the Revival of Religious Confraternities," in Shipley, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 97 *et seq.*; *cf.* Vaux, "Missions and Preaching Orders," in Shipley, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-183.

[6] Vaux, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

work. These will be at liberty to depart.[1] Other arguments cited were: (1) The value of monks in foreign missions, as shown by the Roman Church;[2] (2) Their usefulness in conducting "Retreats" and revivals;[3] (3) They would provide places of safety for the weakly in mind or body, the aged, the drunkard, etc.;[4] (4) They would make the cathedral establishments productive of something useful;[5] (5) Religious orders would serve to counteract the desire for ecclesiastical preferment;[6] (6) They would check the mercenary and worldly spirit of the age;[7] (7) By teaching the world true poverty, these orders would help to solve the social and industrial problems;[8] (8) There is a great need of specialists and teachers superior to those among whom they work, and these monastics would be superior in experience, spiritual attainments and the conquest of the lower nature.[9]

With this emphasis on utilitarian arguments, it was natural that the orders suggested would be active rather than contemplative.[10] One of the spokesmen for monasticism said that the Carthusian type was too contemplative, the Cistercian too agricultural, and the Dominican too severe; even the Franciscan would need modification; but "Congregations, like the Passionists, Redemptorists or Oblates, would raise no prejudices, the vows being simple and the dress not peculiar." [11] Another leader suggests orders like

[1] Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.
[4] Woodhouse, *Monasticism*, p. 353.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 361.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 360.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 349. *Cf.* Bull, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
[8] "G. C.," in *Cowley Evangelist* (1909-1910), pp. 1-7.
[9] Woodhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 347.
[10] Baring-Gould, *ibid.*, p. 109.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

the Franciscans or S. Vincent de Paul.[1] With these arguments and these ideals, it will be interesting to see what orders actually came to be established.

SEC. III. FATHER IGNATIUS AND THE ORDER OF ST. BENEDICT

Joseph Leycester Lyne was ordained deacon on Dec. 23, 1860, the Bishop of Exeter imposing a condition that he should not preach in his diocese for three years because of his eccentricity and impatience of discipline.[2] George R. Prynne offered him a curacy at St. Mary's, Plymouth. In this work he showed a very devotional spirit. Pryme, writing to Lyne's mother, said: "He was animated by a very true spirit of devotion in carrying out such work as was assigned to him; and his earnest and loving character largely won the affections of those among whom he ministered." [3]

At Plymouth Lyne formed two friendships which were very important in his future career. These two friends were Pusey and Miss Sellon. According to his biographer, Mme. Bertouch, these two were "the foster-parents of the monk's vocation, or at any rate of its consummation." [4]

[1] Vaux, *op. cit.*, p. 152 *et seq.*

Thirty years later a friend of monasticism could write that many have been converted to the active orders but not to the contemplative. Yet he thinks these furnish the very salt of the earth and of the Church, saving them from corruption. Their feasibility in the nineteenth century is shown by the flourishing orders of Carthusians at Cowfold in Sussex and in France, and by the Cistercians of La Trappe in France and of St. Bernard in Leicestershire. Woodhouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 351 and 378. This comparison with the Roman Catholic foundations bears out the thesis of chapter ii.

[2] Gilg, "Die Renaissance des Klosterwesens in der anglikanischen Kirche," in *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1913, S., 377.

[3] Kelway, *George Rundle Prynne* (London, 1905), p. 146.

[4] Bertouch, *Life of Father Ignatius, O. S. B., the Monk of Llanthony* (London, 1904), p. 82.

Lyne called Miss Sellon, "My mother Superior," and Pusey "My father in God," and treasured relics of both in Llanthony Abbey. Almost up to his death, Pusey was the chosen administrator of the Sacrament of Penance to Ignatius. Pusey was his "friend, his confidant, his arbitrator in all situations difficult." [1] While at Plymouth Lyne conceived the idea of a religious community. Even before his acquaintance with Pusey, it seems that he had gathered around him a group of men and boys, who called him "Superior" and their group the "Society of the Love of Jesus." [2] This Society grew to about forty members. Lyne went to Pusey and Miss Sellon for advice about it, and the latter with Pusey's encouragement loaned him a house to begin his community life. With two Brothers, he took possession of this house, but the existence of the community was cut short by Lyne's serious illness.[3]

At Bruges where he went to recuperate, Lyne studied the rule of the Benedictine Order. On his return in 1861 he took A. H. Mackonochie's place as curate of St. George's-in-the-East, London. Here he assumed the Benedictine habit, which occasioned much opposition and caused his resignation after nine months.[4]

In 1862 Lyne, who henceforth called himself "Father Ignatius," issued a pamphlet advocating the revival of monasticism in the Church of England. This excited a heated controversy.[5] Not content with this, he secured two kindred spirits and began the Order of St. Benedict at Claydon, near Ipswich. His reasons were strong and clear. "Souls are perishing by thousands close to our doors. The

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 92; *cf.* Gilg., *op. cit.*, S. 377.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 92-100; *cf.* Kelway, *George Rundle Prynne*, pp. 146-147.

[4] Woods, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Suppl. ii (New York, 1912), p. 495.

[5] *Ibid.*

Church of England, as she is at present, is wholly unable to grapple with the task. . . . Communities of men—call them colleges, monasteries, or whatever you please—appear to be the most suitable for the object in view. These men should be unmarried and altogether unshackled by earthly cares and domestic ties. Such establishments must be governed by rule. The rule of St. Benedict has received universal sanction, and the veneration of thirteen centuries. It is suitable in almost every way for all ages and times, and is consistent with the most faithful loyalty to the English Church." [1]

The specific objects to be attained by this order were: (1) The restoration of the ascetic life and continual prayer in the Church of England; (2) Home mission work, by preaching, visiting the poor, and teaching the young; (3) To afford a temporary religious retreat for the secular clergy; (4) To raise the tone of devotion in the English Church to a higher standard by showing the real exemplification of the evangelical "Counsels of Perfection"; (5) To aid in bringing about the union of Christendom.[2]

There were three orders within the Community. The First Order, to whom the above objects apply, observed the Holy Rule of St. Benedict in its integrity. The noviciate lasted, first for six months, then for four, then for two, then for the year, until the novice was considered really called by God to take the life vows. The Second Order consisted of men and women living in the world, and yet leading in their own homes a strictly religious life, using a prescribed dress, reciting the canonical day hours according to the Benedictine Use, and also observing the five rules of the Third Order. This Third Order consisted of men, women

[1] Brother Ignatius, in the *Guardian*, Oct. 26, 1864, p. 1031.

[2] *Kalendar of the English Church for the Year 1867* (London, 1867-1907), p. 185.

and children bound by solemn promise to obey five definite rules regulating: (1) Their attendance at the holy mysteries of the Church; (2) Self-examination; (3) The use of a prayer on behalf of the Society; (4) The giving of alms; and (5) Obedience to the Superior.[1]

This community was the object of many attacks. In 1863 Ignatius obtained a property at Elm Hill, near Norwich.[2] He built the chapel at his own expense and his father helped to support the establishment.[3] The bishops never gave Ignatius any sanction in this work, but they did not make any formal objection to his building a monastery.[4] The Bishop of Norwich, however, inhibited him from preaching in his diocese. There was much public criticism and scandal; and the charges of Romanism seem to have had some ground. An ex-Franciscan monk, who had sung at Ignatius' services, wrote of the monastery: "Truly everything done in it was Roman-like. They had candles, altars, Virgins, Saints, Relics, Beads, Host, and a host of other things; and the Anglicans here said it was more like Rome than anything else. Still Ignatius, O. S. B. called himself an English, and not a Roman, monk; and it was known as the Norwich Monastery." [5] Ignatius wore sandals and shaved his head. There is extant a description of the gorgeous ceremonies with which the monks celebrated the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.[6]

Attacks from without [7] and dissension within soon began

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Gilg. *op. cit.*, p. 377.

[3] *Parliamentary Report,* 1870, vii, 196 *et seq.* Testimony of his Father, Francis Lyne.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Widdows, *Letters by F. G. Widdows, Frater Aloysius, Ex-Franciscan Monk* (Dundee, 1879), p. 4.

[6] *Guardian,* Aug. 24, 1864, quoting from the *Norwich Argus.*

[7] *Guardian,* Oct. 26, 1864.

to weaken the Society. The same ex-Franciscan wrote: "Ignatius and his monks had not the policy of the Roman Catholic monks, because the latter keep all scandals to themselves, and keep them within monastery walls." [1] A priest of the Third Order said in defence of Ignatius that there were no scandals while the Superior was at Norwich, but that he was compelled to be absent so often raising money.[2] In spite of the opposition and scandals, many clergy, however sympathized with Ignatius and some joined the Third Order.[3] As to the size of the establishment at Norwich, a hostile ex-Brother writes that even at its zenith, there were not as many as 150 in the entire Order—"men, women, boys, girls, and infants." [4] After a stormy career of about three years, Ignatius found himself dispossessed of his property through a flaw in the title-deed; [5] and in 1866 he retired to a house in Chale, loaned him by Pusey. His three years' work was not without some fruits, at least in the opinion of his followers. For instance, the subject of monasticism had been ventilated and many prejudices dispelled. The Catholic movement had received a great impetus. Moreover, the Diocese of Norwich had been greatly changed, the Catholic doctrines having been boldly preached and gladly heard by hundreds.[6] The following judgment of a friend of monasteries is enlightening and seems very fair. "The Brotherhood of the Order of St.

[1] Widdows, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[2] *Guardian,* Sept. 12, 1866, p. 951; *cf. Temple Bar* (Nov., 1865), xv, 139.

[3] *Guardian,* May 20, 1866, p. 538.

[4] *Guardian,* Sept. 26, 1866, p. 997.

[5] *Guardian,* Sept. 12, 1866, p. 951.

[6] *Ibid., cf. Parliamentary Report,* 1870, vii, p. 196 *et seq.*

The popular interest in Ignatius is shown by the following: "It is scarcely necessary to speak of his personal appearance, for you may see his photograph, vestments, properties, and all in the first shop-window you pass." *Temple Bar,* xv, 141 (1865).

Benedict has not indeed met with like success. This is perhaps owing to an overhasty indiscretion on the part of him who attempted what was beyond his strength." [1]

In 1867 Father Ignatius removed to Laleham, and at Feltham near by he started a Benedictine community of Anglican Sisters.[2] For two years he was busy on many preaching missions, but he was inhibited by Archbishop Tait, because of his proposal that he would "solemnly excommunicate from Our Holy Congregation" a lady.[3]

In 1869 he bought the property at Chapel-y-fin, about fourteen miles from Abergavenny. Plans were made for a building copied after the ancient abbey of Llanthony, only four miles away. It was called a "monastery" by the architect and was to have a cloister and a small burial ground.[4] The laying of the cornerstone in February, 1870 was an elaborate ceremony, attended by burning of candles and incense. The size of the building is indicated by the amount of the contract which was £674, with more to be built later.[5]

The pictures of the life at Llanthony have been given us chiefly by Ignatius' enemies. Sister Mary Agnes, O. S. B. who left the Feltham Convent, has written her views of Ignatius,[6] and Dom Cyprian Alston, O. S. B., who went

[1] Bennett, "Some Results of the Tractarian Movement of 1833," in Shipley, *The Church and the World,* 1867, p. 20.

[2] In 1868 he invited Hilda Mary Stewart, a member of Miss Sellon's Sisterhood whom he had met in 1861, to assist him in founding an Order of Enclosed Nuns at Feltham. She received the Benedictine habit in the Chapel at Laleham. *The Benedictines of Caldey Island* (Caldey Island, 1912), p. 129. After several changes of residence and control, this Sisterhood seceded to the Roman faith in 1912.

[3] Davidson and Benham, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait,* 2 vols. (London, 1891, i, 505.

[4] *Parl. Report,* 1870, vii, p. 195. Testimony of Edwin Foster, the builder.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Nunnery Life in the Church of England* (London, 1890).

over to the Benedictines of Caldey, has given a very intimate and apparently rather sympathetic description of the institution at Llanthony.[1] This dissertation can only give the statements as those present them. Alston arrived in 1888. At that time Ignatius had two Brothers and two or three boys, with three nuns in an adjoining convent. The number was constantly changing. The Superior usually kept boys in the hope of developing future members of the Community but the boys generally became dissatisfied with the severe Rule and left. The Rule was really severe. An attempt was made to abstain perpetually from eating meat (although not always observed). There was very little recreation or relaxation. Silence was kept according to the Benedictine Rule and enforced by severe and ridiculous penalties. Moreover the conditions of life were none too healthy. But there were reasons why Ignatius could not enforce a strict observance of these rules. In the first place, he did not live the community life himself. His occupations, devotions, meals, etc. were apart from the rest. While he was sincere and earnest, he was rather erratic in temper. His frequent and long absences prevented a close oversight. There was consequently tale-bearing and spying among the members. Another cause of irregularity was the presence of boys in the Community. Furthermore Ignatius had no training in the Religious Life. He used to say the only books a monk needed were the Bible and the Holy Rule; and as a result he kept the library locked. He himself dictated the doctrines to be accepted and they were a curious blend of Catholic dogma and Calvinism. He recognized no ecclesiastical superior, and privately interpreted the Rule of St. Benedict. As to dress, he added to the ordinary Benedictine habit, the use of Franciscan sandals

[1] In *Pax*, Dec., 1913, p. 60 *et seq.*

and a knotted rope for girdle, believing them more monastic in appearance. He borrowed from some other orders the custom of renewing vows year by year instead of admitting to solemn Profession at the end of one year's Noviciate. He therefore called them "Professed Novices." [1]

Dom Alston shows the severity of the life, by giving a schedule of the day's activities:

2 a. m.	Rise.
Until 3:45	Matins and Lauds.
3:45-5	Household work.
5-6	Prime.
6-7:30	Household work.
7:30-8	Tierce and a breakfast of dry bread and coffee.
8-10	Household duties.
10-12	Bible reading; writing, etc.
Noon	Sext.
12:30 p. m.-1 p. m.	Dinner.
1-2	Siesta.
2	None.
Until 4:45	Various occupations, gardening, etc.
4:45-5	Visit to Blessed Sacrament.
5	Supper.
6	Vespers.
7-8	Recreation.
8-8:15	Assembly in Sacristy for a "Conference," consisting of a chapter from the Holy Rule and a reading from Butler's *Lives of the Saints.*
8:15	Compline.
	Retire immediately afterwards.[2]

With a proper allowance for the exaggeration of the ex-Brother, the reader can see that the life at Llanthony

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*

must have been rather severe.[1] At any rate the Community did not prosper. At the death of Ignatius in 1908, he left only five Brothers and a few Sisters. These were unable to carry on the Community and from 1909 on Llanthony Abbey became the property of the Benedictines of Caldey Island.[2]

SEC. IV. THE BENEDICTINES OF CALDEY ISLAND

The Order of St. Benedict founded by Father Ignatius was not a revival of pure Benedictinism. Ignatius was independent and erratic, his rules were eclectic. It was left to another to restore the precise methods of the fourteenth century.[3]

When a lad of twelve, Aelred Carlyle found in his father's library a copy of Rev. Samuel Fox's *Monks and Monasteries*.[4] "It was from this volume that he first consciously received the impulse which has become the mastermotive of his life." [5] He kept his ideal before him; and when in 1892 he began his medical studies, his mind was still set upon the Religious Life with a definite attraction to the Order of St. Benedict. As a student in one of the London hospitals he lived as closely as possible according to the Rule of that Order. In this same year he paid an apparently accidental visit to the Benedictine nuns at Twickenham,[6] who had been founded with the sanction of Dr. Temple, Bishop of London.[7] The visit showed him

[1] *Cf.* Sister Mary Agnes, *Nunnery Life,* on the cruelty of the penances, p. 84 *et seq.*

[2] *Pax,* Dec., 1909, pp. 121-123.

[3] Rogers, in *A Franciscan Revival,* ed. by A. Clifton Kelway, Plaistow, 1908, p. 43.

[4] *Cf.* Bibliography.

[5] *The Benedictines of Caldey Island,* p. 121.

[6] Founded by Ignatius.

[7] *Benedictines of Caldey Island,* p. 13.

that the Benedictine Life had already been revived for women, and hence was feasible for men. Aelred was admitted into the Oblates of St. Benedict, an association of young men organized by the chaplain of the nuns. This society did not last long, but in the meantime Aelred had organized at Ealing an association of ten young men. They rented a house, in which they spent as much time as their various occupations permitted, saying such Offices as they were able to say together. This quasi-common life continued for two years.[1]

The year 1895 marks a new stage. The Oblates were invited to come to the parish of St. John's, Isle of Dogs, and to test themselves for a definite religious community. Aelred accepted for himself, and made the following statement to the Oblates: "The Oblates of St. Benedict consist of men living in the world under yearly vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience, and observing the Rule of St. Benedict so far as their secular state of life allows. The chief object is to discover and test individual vocations for the Monastic State; to learn the Rule and customs of the Religious life, and in this manner to prevent the failure of vocations when the Regular Community should be formed. In the future the whole Rule of St. Benedict is to be observed in its primitive austerity, with all the ancient customs and traditions of the Benedictine Order." [2] He then proceeded to sketch the three phases of the Religious Life. There were to be: (1) A community of contemplative monks, living in the country and spending their time in prayer, study and manual work; (2) A house of Active Religious, under the same Rule slightly modified, in London or some other great city, working among the poor and the needy; and (3) Men—lawyers, doctors, etc.—living in the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

same House, under the same Rule, with the same Vows, each working in his own sphere. Aelred hoped that the work might begin with the second phase, such as was then offered in the parish of St. John's, and that this might enable the first to be entered upon later.[1] The Oblates seemed impressed with the urgency of the claims, but not one agreed to join their leaders in the attempt.

Aelred's resolution remained unshaken. On Easter Sunday 1896, he was clothed as a novice by the chaplain of the Benedictine Nuns, then at Malling Abbey.[2] During the next two years he worked in the parish of St. John's, Isle of Dogs. He was treated with courtesy and sympathy by the clergy in that parish; but toward the close of 1897, Aelred felt that he should retire to the country in order to live the contemplative life. Through the influence of the Rev. D. G. Cowan, he secured an interview with Dr. Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Feb. 11, 1898. The Archbishop was deeply interested in the restoration of the Religious Life and expressed a great veneration for the Benedictine Rule.[3] Three days later he sent him the authorization for his solemn Profession as a monk under the Holy Rule of St. Benedict.[4] This Profession was made in the Chapel of West Malling Abbey, Feb. 20, 1898.

During the summer of 1898 Father Aelred and a Brother who had joined him spent some time at West Malling. While they were looking for a permanent home, Father

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 21; *cf. Memoirs of Archbishop Temple, by Seven Friends*, ed. by E. G. Sandford, 2 vols. (London, 1906), ii, 41.

[4] Lambeth Palace, Feb. 14, 1898. "My dear Sir: You have my permission to ask Mr. Richards, the chaplain of West Malling Abbey, to receive your profession and he has hereby my sanction for receiving it." (Reproduced, *ibid.*, p. 23). This act has been often cited by the advocates of monasticism in their desire for ecclesiastical sanction.

Page, then Superior of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, being greatly interested in this new attempt, invited them to visit Cowley. Here they spent two months and gained much inspiration.[1] Still unable to find a house, they accepted Page's offer to go and help the Cowley Fathers in their London House at 29 Great Titchfield Street. They were able here to have their own chapel. Many young men were attracted to this House, some of whom later were professed. On September 24, 1898, a Novice made his simple vows and a Postulant entered the noviciate.[2] Later in the autumn, the three Brothers moved to "The Retreat," a small house about two miles from Milton Abbas in Dorsetshire.

In the autumn of 1900, owing to a change in the ownership of Milton Abbas, the community had to seek a fresh home. The Rev. W. Done Bushell offered them a temporary asylum on Caldey Island, which he owned.[3] They accepted, and for fifteen months they worked to make their new location a suitable home for their community. The work and hardship welded them into a homogeneous body. More money, however, was needed to equip the place properly; and therefore early in 1902 they were glad to accept the generous offer of Lord Halifax to occupy Painsthorpe in Yorkshire.[4]

The year 1902 marks the second important stage in their development. On February 23, the Charter[5] was signed by the seven Brothers of the community, announcing their choice of Father Aelred as Abbot, and asking the Archbishop of Canterbury to sanction the community and the election. This he did in May, and the Order of St. Benedict thus became a recognized institution of the English Church.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[5] For facsimile *vide, ibid.*, p. 32.

When the community moved from Caldey to Painsthorpe, it received the recognition and sympathy of the Archbishop of York and the rector of the parish became the editor of the official history of the Order.[1] The final act of ecclesiastical recognition was the installation of the abbot. In 1903 Bishop Grafton of Fond-du-Lac came to visit Lord Halifax. At the the suggestion of Aelred, the Archbishop of York permitted Bishop Grafton to perform the act of Blessing and Installation on October 30. This same bishop ordained Aelred deacon and priest in November, 1904, at Ripon, Wisconsin, U. S. A., while the Abbot was visiting Grafton to consider the possibility of founding a Benedictine House in his diocese.[2]

The community was limited in its growth by the size of the house at Painsthorpe. In the autumn of 1905 Lord Halifax was considering the enlargement of the building, when the purchase of Caldey Island was made possible.[3] On July 20, 1906, the contract of sale was signed, "and the final conveyance of the freehold of the Island to a trust formed of the Professed members of the community was effected on Sept. 29, 1906." [4] The community, now eighteen in number, left Painsthorpe on Oct. 17, 1906; and at its

[1] Rev. W. R. Shepherd.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 40; *cf.* Rogers in *A Franciscan Revival*, p. 43.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 42. This fact is important owing to the later dispute over the ownership of Caldey Island when the Community went over to Rome. In 1908 Abbot Aelred wrote: "In connection with the passing away of Father Ignatius, I have been asked several times what would happen to Caldey in the event of my death. . . . Upon the completion of the purchase, the whole property was at once invested in a Trust consisting of Solemnly Professed members of this Community and to ensure the preservation of Caldey to the Church of England. My death could make no difference to the carrying out of this Trust." (*Pax*, Dec., 1908, p. 96). But in May, 1913, the Abbot explains that in 1912 the interests were settled and the Trust freed from the conditions depending upon them. (*Pax*, May, 1913, p. 221).

departure expressions of love were given by the parishioners, for the popular suspicion had been long since overcome. Their growth continued at Caldey, so that at time of secession in 1913, the community consisted of 33 Brothers, of whom 9 were in Solemn Vows, 13 in Simple Vows, 5 Novices and 6 Oblates.[1] In addition to the establishment at Caldey, there were two branches, one at Pershore, and the other at Llanthony, the former monastery of Father Ignatius.[2] In fact the Church Times thinks the prosperity of the Order was the cause of its undoing.[3]

The history of the Order having been sketched, it is well to glance at its purpose and method. "Our Fundamental Purpose, as a Religious Community, is to get back to First Principles which lie deep in the foundation of these great realities: (1) The nature of God, Who is Perfect Love.

[1] *Pax,* May, 1913, p. 218.

[2] The connection between Llanthony and Caldey has been a matter of some dispute. Of Father Ignatius, Aelred wrote: "It is difficult for me to write about one whom I loved and revered, but with whose point of view I could not always agree. Our work began quite independently of Father Ignatius and I did not ever see him until after I had made my own Profession." (*Pax,* Dec., 1908, p. 95.) Ignatius was always interested in Aelred's community, and, as his own group was small, he thought it might be possible for the new community to come to Llanthony; but the terms could not be satisfactorily arranged. In regard to the disposal of Llanthony Abbey after the death of Ignatius in 1908, Aelred wrote: "I mentioned the fact that Llanthony Abbey had been bequeathed by him to certain members of the little community he left behind. The senior of these was Brother Asaph, and at the death of Father Ignatius the property passed to him and to a Sister in the Convent. . . . For a year after Ignatius' death Brother Asaph and four others struggled, but in September, 1909, they decided it was impossible to continue any longer as they were." (*Pax,* Dec., 1909). The Sister relinquished her share in favor of Asaph, who, with three of the Brethren, was given a chance to test his vocation at Caldey Island. Brother Asaph, however, seemed to have been the only one of Ignatius' community to become a permanent member of the Caldey Benedictines. (*Pax,* June, 1910, p. 289.)

[3] Mar. 14, 1913, p. 362.

(2) The nature of Man, whose soul is made in the image of God by creation, who is renewed by Redemption by Jesus the Son of God, and dedicated in Sanctification by the Holy Spirit of God." [1] Man is created to contribute to God's happiness. His motive power should be the hope of the life to come and the love of Almighty God. "The accidents of our life, the Holy Rule, the Habit, and Monastic customs are merely the externals which enshrine the principle that keeps us together." [2] The Evangelical counsels are Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. As to poverty, Jesus pronounces clearly in its favor and he himself selected that for his own state. "As regards chastity—by which we understand the choice of the virgin state by persons of either sex —'Blessed are the pure in heart'; 'Whosoever shall look upon a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery already with her in his heart'; and again our Lord's own personal adoption of the virgin state." [3] As to obedience, " 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven'; 'Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth.' " [4]

The life of the Order is distinctly the Contemplative. "We feel, therefore, no hesitation in making it clear that the primary work of our community at Caldey is Prayer." [5] The recitation of the Divine Office is divided into eight services—Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline: These are recited every day in the year, at the times appointed by the Rule, and not by aggregate, as is common in some communities.[6] The austerity of the life is indicated by the fact that the first office is recited at 2 a. m.[7] Other than this the Order practiced no particular

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[7] *Pax*, Mar., 1911, p. 192.

austerity except abstinence from all fleshly meat by those in good health, and silence, which is strictly kept during the day except for the hour of recreation.[1] They were not abnormally or mechanically ascetic.[2]

The qualifications for membership were clearly marked out. To become a Postulant, the candidate must bring a baptismal certificate and two references from parish clergy. He must be of sound health and free from engagements of debt or marriage. He was expected to defray the expenses of his Noviciate.[3] The most suitable age was between 18 and 25, but exceptions were possible. "As to education, the more the better, but there is also room among us for those who have not had the best opportunities, but who are young enough and willing enough to learn." [4] The term of Postulancy was indeterminate, lasting from a few weeks to six months. If the Postulant persevered and developed signs of the Vocation, he was clothed as a Novice. The Noviciate lasted at least one year after the clothing; [5] and then, by a two-thirds vote of all the Professed members, the Novice was permitted to take simple Vows. This was a promise made to God, but not accepted in an absolute manner by the Church. Hence these vows could be dispensed by the Abbot.[6]

After at least three years lived under Simple Vows, the Brother could by a three-fourths vote of the Professed members make his Solemn Profession, provided he was more than twenty-five years old. His vows were now

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[2] For the explanations of the Benedictine Rule, *vide*, Grafton, *Works*, 8 vols. (New York, 1914), v, 303 *et seq.*

[3] *Pax*, Mar., 1908, p. 459.

[4] *Pax*, Dec., 1908, p. 97.

[5] *Benedictines of Caldey Island*, p. 95.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 95. For this distinction between Simple and Solemn Vows, *vide*, Hughson, *The Fundamentals of the Religious Life.*

irrevocable.[1] The four marks of a Vocation were considered to be: (1) Truly to seek God; (2) To be fervent in the work of God; (3) To be ready for obedience; and (4) to be ready for humiliation.[2]

How long could such a purely mediaeval Order continue in the Church of England? Its progress and growth were slow but steady, as has been seen; and it received the sanction of the highest Episcopal authorities. The prospect seemed good for the permanent revival of Benedictinism, and it appeared to have a special right of existence in that it had been established in the period of the undivided Catholic Church.[3] However, signs of discontent became evident after a few years. In 1910 the abbot wrote: "It seems rather a strange thing, when we need priests for the proper conduct of our Monastery service, that we should be forced to wait for two years after their ordination, and that the whole of the Diaconate—which ought to be a time spent in the intensifying of the Spiritual Life—should be passed in the hurly-burly of clubs and parochial organizations. . . . We are feeling increasingly that some definite arrangement should be made for those who have been called to the Contemplative Life, when God gives them in addition a further vocation to the priesthood. . . . Men are ordained to colleges and schools, and a monastery should have at least the same facilities." [4] It would seem from this that not all the members had received the same recognition as had Aelred himself at the hands of Bishop Grafton. On Dec. 13, 1911, the Abbot wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury, "asking for such a measure of countenance as would give us a recognized status." [5] The Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Gore, was appointed Episcopal Visitor and correspondence began be-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[2] *Pax*, Dec., 1908, p. 97.
[3] *Pax*, Dec., 1910, p. 112.
[4] *Pax*, Dec., 1910, p. 101.
[5] *Pax*, May, 1913, p. 214.

tween him and the Abbot. Bishop Gore designated Dr. Darwell Stone and Mr. W. B. Trevelyan to visit Caldey Island as his representatives.[1] They made their visit on Jan. 3, 1913, and on February 8 Bishop Gore wrote the Abbot, giving four conditions on which he would become official visitor. These conditions were as follows: (1) The property should be legally secured to the Church of England; (2) The use of the Liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer; (3) The abandonment of the practice of Exposition and Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament; (4) The elimination from the breviary and missal of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and of the corporal Assumption of Our Lady.[2] Each Brother was given a copy of Gore's letter. On February 18 the Abbot saw clearly "that the Divine authority and unity of the Catholic Church were to be found only in union with the Holy See." [3] The next day all the Brothers met and voted to withdraw from the Church of England.[4] Only one member left Caldey desiring to continue the Benedictine Life in the Anglican Church.[5] When the secession to Rome became known considerable public hostility was aroused; and the question of the property became acute. The lawyer for the monks claimed that

[1] *Church Times,* Feb., 28, 1913.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Pax,* May, 1913, p. 215. It is interesting to note that a writer, "B. R. W.," had written in *Pax* as early as Sept., 1912, thus: "Reconciliation with Rome in some form or other is the predestined end of the Oxford Movement and the only means of stemming the tide of infidelity which has set in. . . . The underlying principle of all these desires for reconciliation with the Holy See, is to be found in the fact that there has been, ever since the breach with Rome, a consciousness in the minds of many of the best Anglicans of a supreme desire for reunion, without having to deny that their own Communion is part of the Catholic Church, and that their orders and sacraments are valid."

[4] *Pax,* May, 1913, p. 216.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 219.

the donor was willing to give the property to Rome, and said that the Abbot would refund to Anglicans who ask for their contributions.[1] About £2000 were asked to be returned.[2]

The Roman Catholic view of the secession is an interesting commentary on the Revival of Benedictinism in the Church of England. "Theirs has been the only serious, or so far, successful attempt to introduce the contemplative life into the Anglican communion. The movement has now collapsed, and it is unlikely that any one will hereafter attempt an experiment foredoomed to failure." [3]

SEC. V. SOCIETY OF S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

The purely contemplative life has been so far unable to take a permanent root in the Church of England. In fact it would probably have been impossible for it to have gained even its temporary foothold, had it not been for the fact that more active orders of men were already established. This debt is acknowledged by a modern Benedictine, who says: "Indeed it would have been impossible, humanly speaking, to restore amongst us the Benedictine Life, had not the restoration been preceded by the foundation of modern Sisterhoods and of such Societies as Cowley and Mirfield —Communities which devote themselves to external active work (with devotion as the source of their strength), and so, even in the eyes of the world, justify the Life they lead by the work they undertake." [4] As we have seen throughout, it was the social argument which the advocates of monasticism put forth first in order to gain popular support. First in point of time among these more active, and hence

[1] *Church Times*, Mar. 14, 1913, p. 362.
[2] *Pax*, May, 1913, p. 223.
[3] Dom Bede Camm in the *Catholic Mind*, 1913, p. 89.
[4] *Benedictines of Caldey Island*, p. 6.

more socially attractive, orders was the Society of S. John the Evangelist, commonly known as the Cowley Fathers.

Owing to a later division in the Society, there has been a little dispute over its origin. Bishop Grafton, one of the original members, gives the following account of its beginning. "In 1863 I was drawn seriously to consider the practicability of forming a religious Society of misson priests adapted to the needs of our own Church. In the matter I sought frequently the counsel of my own Bishop, the late Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, and had his encouragement and general approval. In the winter of 1864, Father Prescott, who had known of the matter from the first, and myself went apart for a long retreat with this end in view. In the spring of 1865, with the approval of my Bishop, I went to England in order to obtain information before beginning the work here. There I was kindly received by Dr. Pusey, the late Bishop of Brechin, and others, who warmly encouraged the scheme and gave it the benefit of their counsel." [1] S. W. O'Neill was interviewed and a plan was formed. Richard Meux Benson was asked to join, which he did.

The English members of the Society, however, accord the title of founder to Father Benson.[2] Benson was ordained deacon in 1848, having studied at Christ Church, Oxford, a rendezvous of the Tractarians. From 1850 to 1870 he was Vicar of Cowley, and from 1870 to 1886 of Cowley St. John, Oxford.[3] The occasion for the founding of a Religious Order is said to have been a sermon preached by John Keble at Wantage July 22, 1863.[4] Benson felt himself called to

[1] Grafton, *A Letter Addressed to the Members of the Society of St. John the Evangelist,* n. p. n. d., p. 3 *et seq.*

[2] Puller, *The Continuity of the Church of England* (London, 1913), p. 101.

[3] Gilg, *Die Renaissance, etc.,* p. 373.

[4] Ollard, *Dictionary of English Church History,* p. 502.

be a missionary, and this led him to the project of a Society, for the cultivation of a life dedicated to God in works both missionary and educational.[1] Associated with him were Fathers Grafton, later Bishop of Fond-du-Lac, and O'Neill, an Eton tutor. These three made their Professions together on May 6, 1866.

At first the Society had no constitution. Benson did not think it was necessary. "As to the agreement made at the beginning, he declared that a Religious Society could spring from one man only, and could have but one founder, and in the present case the founder, however unworthy, was himself. He informed us that a constitution could not be framed and come into force until a Society had passed out of its founder's hands, and that in the meanwhile the constitution was sufficiently enunciated in his teachings during the July retreat." [2] Benson, however, seems to have agreed that a constitution should be formed when there came to be twelve Professed Fathers.[3] According to one of Benson's critics, this agreement was spoken of from time to time, but after the number twelve was complete, Benson postponed the formation of a constitution indefinitely.[4]

Although no constitution is available for our study, it is possible to get some idea of the purpoes of the Society from various writings. Benson expresses his general conception of the Religious life thus: "We must remember that our life as Religious is not something over and above the ordinary Christian life. It is only the ordinary Christian life developed under such regulations as are necessary for indi-

[1] *A Franciscan Revival*, p. 38.
[2] Grafton, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.
[4] Gardner, *A Reprint of Letters to the Superior of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, England*, n. p. n. d., p. 3.

viduals, because the Church at large has fallen away from her true spiritual calling of conscious and habitual union with Christ." [1] Yet a clear distinction is made between their communion and a confraternity. "It is obvious," writes a member, "that there is a marked distinction between associations such as guilds or confraternities of various degrees of strictness, existing in the church for the advancement of the spiritual life, and the life of a Religious Community consisting of either men or women, who, in response to a divine vocation, make the life-long dedication of their lives to God under the three vows of poverty, obedience and chastity." [2] Their life was not to be one of ease and idleness. "You will find Religious Communities to-day not generally making themselves comfortable in pleasant places, but laboring among wild men in dangerous climate, in hospitals also, and prisons, all over the world." [3] Benson himself could not believe the purely contemplative life adapted to the nineteenth century. He writes: "A Society may exist for contemplation, abstraction from the world, dealing with spiritual things immediately according to Divine inspiration, lifted up to God in energies of supernatural love, and consequently tested by severe Satanic conflict. Such vocations must in every age be rare. In our present age they are scarcely conceivable." [4] But the life was not to be active in the sense of a settlement house, for Benson saw great value in contemplation. He adds, therefore: "We are not, however, to think that we have no need to consider the contemplative life, because we are not called to pure contemplation. Separated from the active life, it is fraught with the greatest danger, but yet no form of the active life can be

[1] Benson, *The Followers of the Lamb* (London, 1905), p. 6.
[2] Father Nicholson, in *Cowley Evangelist,* 1909-1910, p. 76.
[3] "G. C.," in *Cowley Evangelist,* 1909-1910, p. 245.
[4] Benson, *op cit.,* p. 4.

truly spiritual without contemplation." [1] The Cowley Fathers' life is, therefore, of the "mixed" type. They aim to do useful social work, but it can be said of them as one of their number said of the Sisters of Mercy, "Their useful work is not their *raison d'etre*. They are called of God to live essentially a consecrated life." [2] Enemies have often accused the Cowley Fathers of Jesuitical tendencies, but a friend also has likened their life to that of the Jesuits. "Its supreme merit," he writes, "is that it picked up the Religious Life just where it left off. . . . The last true phase of the Religious Life before Cowley was the Jesuit Order. . . . The nineteenth century rightly developed the sixteenth century idea." [3]

On this general principle of a "mixed" life, the Society observes a very strict rule. "Its rule has been described," says a friend, "as the severest which is anywhere to-day kept throughout the whole Catholic Church, East or West." [4] The severity is indicated by Benson's expressed conception of the Religious Vocation: "God calls into the Religious Life those who are to do some special work for Him. We must feel that the work is summed up in the word—to die. What we do accidentally or outwardly we do in common with all Christians. To be dead to the world while we are in it is the specialty of our Religious vocation." [5] That the Vocation is a termination of former customs is shown by the following: "Its members, when they are professed part with any property which they may possess, and take life-long vows of celibacy, and promise to live in obedience to the constituted authorities of the Society in accordance

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[2] Father Congreve, in an Address before the Norwich Diocesan Convention, 1906. (*Cowley Evangelist*, 1907-1908, p. 37.)

[3] Rogers, in *A Franciscan Revival*, p. 38.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

with its Rule and Statutes. They daily recite together in their Chapel the offices of Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline, and they have other rules concerning times to be set apart for private prayer, and concerning fasting and silence and other exercises of the Religious Life." [1]

"Dying to the world" involves a strenuous schedule. In this, one feature is the exercise of mental prayer, or meditation. This mental prayer must be cultivated with bodily penance, although not with great austerity.[2] The intellectual life is encouraged as essential in order to cherish contemplation.[3] The active work consists mainly in ministering to the educated classes, by catechising in parochial schools, by preaching, by conducting retreats, and by foreign missions. The Fathers are much in demand by the parochial clergy as mission preachers, these missions or revivals lasting from ten days to a fortnight.[4] Also the conducting of Retreats, lasting from three to five days, is a very popular phase of their work. These Retreats are sometimes held in convents for the benefit of the Sisters, and sometimes in other places for the clergy, very often at the London House in Great College Street, Westminster, S. W.[5] Moreover, Fathers hear many confessions, and from time to time some of them write books dealing with spiritual or theological subjects. Lay brothers are united with the clergy in the Society, but are not admitted to equal partici-

[1] Puller, *The Continuity of the Church of England*, p. 102. Robert Hugh Benson, who visited the Cowley Fathers before joining the Community of the Resurrection, thought their life was too rigid and severe.—Martindale, *The Life of Monsignor Robert Hugh Benson*, 2 vols. (London, 1916), i, 129.

[2] Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[4] Puller, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[5] *Ibid.*

pation or to full privileges. The distinction between "lay" and "choir" members is further shown by the Noviciate, which for priests is two or three years in duration, while for laymen it is longer.[1]

The Society has grown considerably. Its Mother House is at Cowley St. John, Oxford; while the London House is in Great College Street, Westminster, S. W. Branch houses, where mission work is being carried on, are established at Bombay and Poona in India, in South Africa at Capetown and St. Cuthbert's, Kaffraria, and in the United States at Boston.[2] The Society publishes a monthly magazine, *The Cowley Evangelist,* which shows the missionary interest and the methods of extension.

SEC. VI. THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

On October 7, 1887, the Society of the Resurrection was formed by a union of the Brotherhood of the Epiphany, which was part of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, and the clergy of the Pusey House, Oxford. Its aim was to afford help and encouragement to priests desiring to live the celibate life in community.[3] As a natural development from this, Charles Gore, after a year's special probation, joined himself with five other Brothers and formed the Community of the Resurrection on St. James Day, 1892. They made their Profession in Pusey House Chapel.[4] The Order remained at Pusey House until September, 1893, when it moved to Radley. In 1898 the House of the Resurrection at Mirfield became its center.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Official Year Book of the Church of England,* 1916, London, S. P. C. K., p. 67.

[3] Rogers, *op. cit.,* p. 41.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 42; *cf. Official Year Book of the Church of England,* 1916.

[5] For a description of this House, *cf.* Martindale, *op. cit.,* i, 146 *et seq.*

The life of the other monastic orders having been traced already, it is necessary to mention only the distinctive features of this community. Some modern monks would almost deny its right to be called a monastic order.[1] One writer classifies it as similar to the Congregations;[2] while a Jesuit describes it thus: "And Mirfield, which to-day is Lazarist, so to say, in tone, was then (1898) (as a Cowley Father put it) Oratorian rather than monastic."[3] Perhaps more reliable is the classification of Robert Hugh Benson, an ex-member, who explains the life, as "less rigid than that of the ordinary Catholic Orders, but more rigid than that of such Congregations as the Oratorians."[4] The tendency at Mirfield has been toward increasing rigidity, and the Community is commonly and rightfully classed among the monastic orders.

The members are not subject to life vows, but join the order after at least one year's probation, with the full intention of remaining permanently.[5] They take the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience from year to year. If their intention should flag, no dispensation is necessary, but departure can take place automatically at the end of the year. "The vow of obedience was understood in the usual way: external obedience was required, save when conscience genuinely protested; interior obedience was expected within the limits imposed by each man's psychic temperament. By chastity, celibacy was meant. There was no suggestion, I gather, that marriage attempted in defiance of this vow was null and void. Poverty implied that a man's capital remained intact to him, but his income was handed over to

[1] Such was the opinion expressed to the writer by members of the Order of the Holy Cross, West Park, New York.

[2] Martindale, *op. cit.*, i, 148.

[3] Benson, *Confessions of a Convert* (London, 1913), p. 63.

[4] Benson, *op. cit.* (London, 1913), p. 63.

[5] *A Franciscan Revival*, p. 41.

the community. The dictum, moreover, *Quidquid monachus acquirit, monasterio acquirit,* was recognized: books written at Mirfield remained a source of revenue to the house." [1] Although the vows are thus seen to be less strict than those of the Cowley Fathers, the members regard the life as a "dying daily." [2]

At the time of Benson's admission in 1898 the daily schedule was somewhat less burdensome than at Caldey or Cowley. The Community rose at 6:15, recited Matins at 6:50, and followed this with Prime. At 7:15 the Eucharist was celebrated by one member only of the Community, thus emphasizing, in their opinion, the social aspect of the common Oblation. Breakfast followed in silence; Terce was said at 8:45, Meditation following at 9 either in the Chapel or in private rooms. Sext was recited at 1 P. M., after which came dinner at 1:15. Tea was after None at 4:15. Evensong was said at 7; supper was at 7:30, Compline at 9:45, and the lights were officially extinguished at 10. This was the order in Benson's time, "and it has not been altered substantially in our own." [3]

The life at Mirfield has even more of the active element than at Cowley. Its type is to be characterized as "mixed." The community is intended to "consist of priests occupied in various works—pastoral, evangelistic, literary and educational, with the life of religion as their foundation." [4] The members hear many confessions, conduct many Retreats and preach many Missions, as do the Cowley Fathers.[5] "But

[1] Martindale, *op. cit.,* i, 161. For the arguments in favor of these vows *vide,* Bull, *The Revival of the Religious Life* (New York, 1914), p. 70 *et seq.*

[2] Figgis, J. N., *Religious and English Society* (London, 1910), p. 45.

[3] Martindale, *op. cit.,* i, 148-149.

[4] *Official Year Book of the Church of England,* 1916, p. 67.

[5] The number of these is indicated by the list of Intercessions in the *Chronicle of the Community of the Resurrection* (No. 27, Michaelmas

perhaps the most important of the home works is the College of the Resurrection which was founded in 1902, and which has grown and prospered beyond the brightest dreams of its founders." [1] Its aim is to train candidates for the ministry, since so many more clergy are needed than the English universities are producing. "After taking their degree at Leeds University, where they reside in a Hostel, the students spend two years in theological study at Mirfield. After ordination and some experience of pastoral work, they are invited to return for a visit of a week or more, during which they study moral theology and casuistry." [2] In addition to the above works the members find time to make a considerable literary output. Charles Gore, W. H. Frere, Robert Hugh Benson, John Neville Figgis and Paul B. Bull are among those whose names are familiar in theological and devotional literature. Foreign missions also claim their attention. In 1903, the community started a House at Johannesburg, for mission work among the Europeans and natives. The community is also in charge of St. John's College, a Diocesan High School for Boys; and in S. Rhodesia it has charge of St. Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga.

The exact size of the community at the present time is not known to the writer. When R. H. Benson made his Profession in 1901 they "numbered about fourteen members, all of whom were in the full Orders of the Church of England, and all of whom had had experience in parish work. We had no lay-brothers, but the necessary household duties which we did not do ourselves were done by three or four servants." [3] In 1912 he writes: "Now, how-

Day, 1909), which mentions 24 preaching Missions from October 9 to December 18 and 4 Retreats from October 10 to November 21.

[1] *More Men,* pamphlet published by the Community of the Resurrection, Leeds, 1910.

[2] Martindale, *op. cit.,* i, 196.

[3] Benson, *op. cit.,* p. 64.

ever, the numbers of the community have risen to between twenty and thirty." [1] The members are drawn from all branches of the Anglican Church, and even from the Nonconformists." "There are Fathers whose antecedents are entirely Evangelical, side by side with those of High Church antecedents; while not a small proportion have come to the Community out of Nonconformity." [2] Over against the advantage of this wide appeal, however, is the fact that the order is not regarded as satisfactory by the extreme party of Ritualists. Benson thinks this is partly due to Gore's High Liberalism, his position on "higher criticism," and his views on Christian Socialism.[3]

SEC. VII. SOCIETY OF THE SACRED MISSION

Only a few words are needed to describe the distinctive features of this Society, which is still less monastic than the Community of the Resurrection. It is perhaps best classified as similar to the Society of S. Vincent de Paul.[4] Like the Cowley Fathers, it is an outgrowth of the desire for missionary work; and like the Mirfield Community it has grown more monastic as years have passed.[5]

The Reverend Herbert H. Kelly was in charge of an out-of-the-way mission in the south of London, when he saw the need of more use of the Church's materials. In March, 1890, he offered himself to Bishop Corfe of Corea as a missionary to that country. He was to take out a band of twelve young laymen, but he and the Bishop realised that these must be trained first. Therefore, a house was taken at 99 Vassall Road, where teaching work was begun on

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[2] Frere, *English Church Ways* (Milwaukee, 1914).
[3] Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
[4] *A Franciscan Revival*, p. 40.
[5] Judd, in *Pax*, June, 1909, p. 328.

January 1, 1891. Kelly laid down three conditions for entrance: (1) A man must be ready to serve without pay; (2) He must intend to live unmarried; (3) He must come simply to serve Christ and be equally ready to take whatever place or work was assigned to him.[1]

Although a monastic order was not yet begun, a daily routine of offices and work was instituted very similar to that in monastic communities. It was as follows: 6:00 a. m., Matins and Prime; 7:00, Celebration in the Church, followed by a breakfast of bread and butter, and then by housework; 9:00, Terce, followed by work; 12:00, Sext; 12:15 Dinner; 2:00 p. m., None; 6:00, Tea, consisting of bread and butter; 7:00, Evensong; 9:30, Compline.[2] The austerity of the life in the matter of food and work seems to have been even greater than at Cowley or Mirfield.

The founders of this training House soon became convinced that only a Religious Life could save the work from individualism. Hence on May 9, 1893, Kelly and two brothers began a Noviciate, and by the end of the summer the number had grown to six. Father Kelly and Father Woodward made the first Profession on Michaelmas Day, 1894.[3] They called the order the Society of the Sacred Mission, and it dates from the beginning of the Noviciate in 1893. Four years later the Society moved to Mildenhall in Suffolk, and a few years later it established itself in the House of the Sacred Mission, Kelham, Newark. In 1901 the Society had 42 in its House, of whom 4 were priests, 9 were lay-workers and 29 were students.[4]

As to the binding nature of the monastic bonds, Kelly writes: "Membership was constituted by the Profession or declaration of an Intention to serve for life. If any one

[1] Kelly, *An Idea in the Working* (London, 1908), p. 15.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

wished to withdraw, he could do so on a year's notice, but unless such notice was given, the act was always assumed to be final. We provided also a second grade, in which a man might after ten years make a final promise to the Society." [1] Students at the Theological College, which the Society conducts, are allowed to join the community; and clergy, medical men, teachers or craftsmen are invited to test themselves for the Vocation.[2]

This community seems to differ from the others so far noted in that it does not put the cultivation of the dedicated life as its object, but rather it makes this the "basis for the effective operation of a system whose aim is to provide the Church with an organized association of workers." [3] It does not confine itself to any special form of work. Its first interest has been the training of men for religious work, especially for ordination. It has worked the cost of such training down to a very low figure; [4] and when necessary the Society provides for the candidates chosen, but such are expected to repay the sum of £100 within five years after Ordination. It has men working abroad in South Africa, in Central Africa, under the U. M. C. A., and elsewhere. The Society also has charge of a large town parish in England.[5]

A friend of monasteries attributes the following special significance to this Society: "To the student of the Religious Life, the Society of the Sacred Mission has this importance —It puts the Religious Life in its proper place. It is not for all, so not all of the members of the Corean Missionary Brotherhood entered the Society; it is for some." [6]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[2] *Official Year Book of the Church of England*, 1916, p. 67.
[3] Judd, in *Pax*, June, 1909, p. 330.
[4] Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[5] *Official Year Book of the Church of England*, 1916, p. 67.
[6] Rogers in *A Franciscan Revival*, p. 41.

SEC. VIII. SOCIETY OF THE DIVINE COMPASSION

As we have seen, the orders of the Benedictines, the Lazarists, the Vincentians have all been more or less reproduced in the Anglican Church. And now finally it remains to speak of a Society modeled after the Franciscans. "The Society of the Divine Compassion seeks to revive the spirit of St. Francis of Assisi by living a poor life, sharing the privations and discomforts of ordinary poor people." [1] "It is a Community of priests, deacons, and communicant laymen, banded together in a common life of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience." [2]

The Society may be traced to a Retreat at Oxford, conducted by Father Waggett, S. S. J. E., at which time the Rule was drawn up. At the end of the Retreat on Jan. 20, 1899, the first Novices, in the Chapel of the Pusey House, bound themselves to the observance of the Rule and Vows for one year.[3] The name, Society of the Divine Compassion, was chosen because it represents that aspect of Almighty God which they wished specially to hold up as the light of the world in all social distress." [4] Two priests and one layman started community life at Meredith Street, Plaistow, in 1894. Just five years after the Rule was drawn up, Jan. 20, 1899, the first two members made their Profession to Dr. Festing, the Bishop of St. Albans, at S. Pancras Church. The Rule had already been approved by Archbishop Benson, and now the Community itself received the episcopal sanction. Bishop Festing "celebrated Eucharist and blessed the habits, cords and crucifixes, which were laid upon the Altar. He then received the vows of the

[1] *A Franciscan Revival,* Preface, p. vii.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Roberts, G. Baysfield, in *Pax,* June, 1911, p. 303.

kneeling Novices, delivered to each one his habit, and gave him the name by which he was to be known in the Community." [1] The Bishop ordained one brother Deacon and Priest, and "it is believed that this is the first instance, since the Reformation, of the ordination of a Religious in his habit by an English Bishop." [2] Bishop Festing became the official Visitor.

In 1905 the Society acquired a house at Stanford-le-Hope in Essex. Here in the quiet of the country and apart from all external work, the Noviciate is passed and the reality of the Vocation is tested.[3] At Plaistow, where the active work is carried on, the Society is responsible for the mission district around St. Philip's Church. In 1911 the community had so grown that it rented three houses in the parish. One of the distinctive features of the Society is its artisan work. "The life of the S. D. C. is a humble effort to imitate the Incarnate life of our Divine Lord. It has its parish work, where it lives a neighborly life, going out to the more active work of the ministry in preaching and missions; its workshops among the people, where it repairs clocks and watches, works its printing presses, decorates churches; and its members may belong to the same trade societies as the artisans among whom they live." [4] In 1901-2 a smallpox epidemic broke out in London, and the priests of the S. D. C. ministered to the patients at the Isolation Hospital at Dagenham in Essex. The burial of the dead is another kind of work sometimes performed by the Brothers. They also conduct lectures and debates in workingmen's clubs. In short they share the life of the poorest industrial classes. "Laymen

[1] *A Franciscan Revival,* p. 1.

[2] Roberts, in *Pax,* June, 1911, p. 303. It has been seen that Bishop Grafton of Fond-du-Lac ordained Dom Aelred, O. S. B., while the latter was on a visit to America, *vide supra,* p. .

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 303; *cf. A Franciscan Revival,* p. 29.

[4] *A Franciscan Revival,* p. 3.

who have taken Vows can and do carry on the various trades in which they were previously engaged; and in the Whitwell Press (under their direction) a friar may be seen in his habit, working at an electric printing press. If, however, the Society had to choose, it is the poor and suffering whose appeal it would most gladly answer." [1] One unique form of their work is the production of the "Bethlehem Tableaux," which have proved very popular. And yet in spite of its emphasis on this active and varied social work, the Society holds that "the work is rather for the life than the life for the work." [2] "The life must be the attraction, and not the work." [3]

Another feature of the life which is different from the other Orders in the English Church is that there is no distinction between "lay" and "choir" members. In fact, there is nothing to prevent a layman's becoming the Superior.[4] "The primary idea of the Society of the Divine Compassion is that of a family of men, laymen as well as priests, separated from the world and consecrated to God in Holy Religion. There are no differences in dress or privileges. The Religious Vocation is no less the governing principle than the foundation upon which the Community is based. But neither by its Rule nor by its spirit is it severed from all connection with the outside world. On the contrary, a great desire to share and sanctify the experiences of the poor, to hallow commercial life, and to recognize the dignity of labor, were ruling impulses in the genesis of the Society." [5]

[1] Roberts, in *Pax*, June, 1911, p. 306.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 306.
[3] *A Franciscan Revival*, p. 11.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[5] Roberts, in *Pax*, June, 1911, p. 302.

CONCLUSION

The rise of the Brotherhoods and of a few representative Sisterhoods has been sketched. The mention of Pusey, Sellon, Neale, Ignatius, and others recalls the great opposition which the early Orders encountered. No such martyrdom, however, hallows the names of the recent monastic leaders. The purely contemplative life has not yet apparently won many supporters, but the revival of the "active" and the "mixed" types of Community life has long since passed through the period of bitter pamphleteering and violent abuse.

Two issues have been prominent in the discussions of the communities since their revival. The first was the question of vows. Almost every prelate of England during the last fifty years has been forced to express himself as to his view of vows, their legality and advisability. Those expressions are interesting but not really important, for each Order has found a way of maintaining its principles in regard to vows, irrespective of episcopal authority. In some cases, the vows are solemn; in some they are simple; while in others, no explicit vow is taken and only an "intention" is expressed. But in all cases, the professing candidate at least feels that it is a service for life. The position in regard to vows has been shown in each order sketched above, and nothing further needs to be said on this more or less intangible subject.

The other question of importance has been the relation of these monastic orders to the Church and the episcopacy. This subject was discussed at considerable length in the Canterbury Convocation of 1862,[1] and the bishops commended the Sisterhoods to the prayers of the Church. In July, 1875, a committee of the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation

[1] Chronicle of Convocation, 1861-3.

was appointed to consider the rise and progress of Sisterhoods and Brotherhoods. The report, which was presented in May, 1878, called forth strong resolutions expressing thankfulness for their work and approval of the episcopal recognition accorded to them. The wide sympathy for this revival was shown again in the same Convocation of 1889.[1]

In this treatment of monasticism we have sought to pull a long, and at times a fragile, thread of interest. In the seventeenth century it was strong enough to hold a number of antiquaries and church leaders; in the eighteenth it was weakened almost to the point of breaking, until the new fibre was woven in by the French refugee clergy; but from that day on the strand of interest grew stronger until now it binds together in the conventual life more than thirty communities of men and women, with numerous branch Houses throughout England and the British Empire.

[1] Ollard in *Dictionary of English Church History*, p. 503.

APPENDIX I

Act of 1554. 1 & 2 Phil. & Mary, c. 8

"An Acte repealing all Statutes, Arcticles and Provisions made against the See Apostolick of Rome since the XXth yere of King Henry theight, and also from thestablishment of all Spyrytuall and Ecclesiasticall Possessions and Hereditaments Conveyed to the Layetye.

Sec. IX.

"And Finallie where certaine Actes and Statutes have bene made in the time of the late Scisme, concerning the Landes and Hereditamentes of Archbishoprikes and Bishoprikes, the suppression and dissolucion of Monasteries, Abbeis Priories Chantres Colledges and all other the Gooddes and Cattalles of Religious Houses. Since the whyche tyme the Right and Dominion of certaine Landes and Hereditaments gooddes and cattelles belonging to the same be dispersed abroade, and come to thandes and possession of dyvers and sundrye persons, who by gyfte, purchase exchange and other means according to thorder of the Lawes and Statutes of this Realme for the tyme being, have the same: For thavoiding of all Scruples that might growe by any thoccasion aforesaid, or by any other means whatsoever, It maie please your Majesties to be Intercessours and Mediatours to the said most Revernd Father Cardinall Poole. That all such Causes and Quarrelles as by pretence of the said Scisme by the Popes Holynes or See Apostolike or by ani other Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, maie be utterly removed and taken away: so as all persons having sufficient conveiance of the said Landes and Hereditaments goods and cattelles as is aforesaid by the Common Lawes Actes or Statutes of this Realme, may without Scruple

of Conscience enjoy them, without Impeachment or Troble by pretence of any Generall Counsell Canons or Ecclesiasticall Lawes, and clere from all dangers of the censures of the Churches." *Statutes of the Realm,* IV, par. 1, p. 245.

APPENDIX II

A Sermon Preached by the Rev. George Henry Glasse, Rector of Hanwell, June 16, 1793.

"Of the second description of these wretched exiles, the Monastic clergy, we must speak with more than common delicacy in a country where their order has long since been discontinued, the evil resulting from its establishment having been found to be preponderate over the good. Yet to condemn these unfortunate men to indiscriminate censure, because they were once the inhabitants of a convent, would be unjust—to refuse them relief when the iron band of oppression is crushing them to pieces, would be inhuman. Among them were many whose exemplary virtues gave a lustre to the contemplative life they had embraced—many who were not a set of drones revelling in idle luxury, on the fruit of others labour. There were among them persons, the younger sons of noble families, whom the unfeeling partiality of parents had compelled to withdraw from the world, that they might aggrandise a first-born son with their inheritance. There were others whose zeal, however misguided, claim our reverence—who embraced the profession from motives merely conscientious—devoting themselves to the service of God by a life of austerity, abstinence, and severe mortification. There were yet others, who having once mixed with the world, and having shared its sins, and drunk deep of its sorrows found relief in bringing the oblation of their hearts to the altar of divine mercy. Among them were persons, who, dedicating themselves to honourable study, advanced the best interests of learning—who engaged in no political disputes,—no factious struggles for power—who never left the quiet retirement of their cell, but to relieve the poor, to bring medicine

to the sick, or to set before the dying the bright prospect of immortality. If there were corruption in their institution, those corruptions should have been done away. If there were radical evils, which no half-measures could remove, the order should gradually, and by gentle means, have been abolished. But that a set of men, accused of no public crime, holding no principle dangerous to the state, unfitted, by their education, for any employment by which they might procure their daily bread—that persons of this description should all at once be driven from their peaceful retreats, as lambs into the midst of wolves—that they should be reduced to the horrible necessity of quitting their country, their profession, and the exercise of their religion, to fly into a land they knew not—or if they remained, that they should be compelled to renounce their king and God, or present their bosoms to the dagger of assassination; this is cruelty so refined, injustice so complicated, tyranny so execrable that it is impossible to find language in which to proclaim our pity for the oppressed—our abhorrence and detestation of their oppressors!" *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXIII, 731 (August, 1793).

APPENDIX III

The Quotations at the Beginning of a Paper Entitled "Revival of Monastic and Conventual Institutions on a Plan Adapted to the Exigencies of the Reformed Catholic Church in England"

"'Quid aliud fuere Monasteria quam officinae virtutum; jejunii patientiae laborum.' (D. Ambros, lib. x. Ep. F2.)

"'A Monastery is a school of Christian penitence. It is a little community having its own offices, in which each has his own post marked out, and in which all are engaged in labors of love; whilst, from its silence and peace, the soul, has leisure for contemplation.' (*Brit. Critic* LX. Art. 'Port Royal.')

"'To speak seriously and without passion what can the ill be—to have places set apart whither men either by nature, turn or otherwise unfit for the world, may retire themselves in religious company, may think on Heaven and good learning?' (Sir Roger Twysden, *The Beginners of a Monastick Life in Asia, Africa and Europe,* 1698.)

"'Something like monasteries for women would be a glorious design, and may be set on foot to be the honor of a Queen on the Throne.' (Bishop Burnet.)"

—Browne, *Annals of the Tractarian Movement* (Dublin, 1856), p. 93, *et seq.* This paper was taken from the *Church Intelligencer* and widely circulated among the Oxford Party.

APPENDIX IV

Rules of the Society of the Holy Trinity, Devonport

In order to secure, as far as may be, that the Sisterhood of Mercy in Devonport, recently established by the permission of Almighty God, should, under His divine blessing, be continued upon the same principles on which it was begun, the following Regulations, as to its funds and operations, have been adopted, with the sanction of the Lord Bishop of Exeter.

I. A legal instrument has been prepared, by which certain of the Sisters have agreed to live together, (conforming to certain regulations, sanctioned by the Bishop, for the better conduct of the interior of the Institution); but with free liberty to any Sister to withdraw if it shall so seem good to her.

II. Any Sister so withdrawing, or in any way ceasing to be a member of the Society, shall be entitled to her own personal property; but neither she nor her heirs shall be entitled to any share of the common property of the Society.

III. The Sisterhood shall belong to the Church of England; and if any Sister should unhappily cease to be a member of the Church of England, she shall, *ipso facto,* cease to be a member of the Society.

IV. The object of the Sisterhood shall be the education of the female children of Sailors and Soldiers, who shall have lost either parent; the visiting the sick and needy; superintendance of schools, infant or adult, industrial or educational; oral instruction of adults in smaller classes; the visiting of female emigrants on board vessels sailing from or touching at the port of Plymouth; and any other purpose of love (such as the care of hospitals or infirmaries, the temporary

shelter and training of distressed women of good character) which God, in His Good Providence, shall open to them.

V. The Bishop of Exeter, for the time being, shall be *ex officio* Visitor of the Sisterhood; and all the internal regulations of the Sisterhood shall be open to him.

VI. The Sisters, in visiting the poor and sick, shall be under the direction of the Clergy in whose districts they visit.

VII. The schools formed by the Sisters shall be open at all times, for the inspection and religious instruction of the parochial clergy of the district, and to the Diocesan inspector of the schools appointed or approved by the Bishop.

VIII. Any property given to the Sisterhood, either by the Sisters themselves, or by donations for permanent purposes, or by bequests, shall be vested in the Sisterhood; but the accounts shall be at all times open to a person appointed by the Bishop to inspect them.

IX. Any one who shall hereafter be admitted to join the Sisterhood, shall have the concurrence of two-thirds of the Sisters above the age of 25, with the sanction of the Bishop.

X. Should it hereafter unhappily ever become necessary (which God avert) to remove any Sister, it shall be requisite that such removal should be deemed necessary by at least two-thirds of the Sisters above the age of 30, and be confirmed by the Bishop.

Bequests may be made to the Sisterhood under the title of Church of England Sisterhood of Mercy in Devonport.

The Sisters of Mercy at Devonport. Report of An Inquiry Held by the Lord Bishop of Exeter. With an Appendix, Ed. by Richard C. Rogers (Devonport, 1849). Appendix, pp. 12-13.

APPENDIX V

Chronological List of Conventual Communities in the Church of England

1847 Community of St. Thomas the Martyr. Oxford.
1848 Society of the Holy Trinity. Devonport.
1849 Sisterhood of St. John the Baptist. Clewer.
1849 Sisterhood of St. Mary. Wantage.
1851 Sisterhood of All Saints. Colney Chapel, St. Albans.
1852 Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity.
1854 Sisterhood of St. Margaret. East Grinstead.
1855 Community of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Queen Square, Brighton.
1855 Sisterhood of All Hallows. Ditchingham, Norfolk.
1858 Sisterhood of St. Peter. Horbury.
1858 Community of the Holy Road. North Ormesby, Middlesbrough.
1861 Community of St. Peter. Mortimer Rd., Kilburn.
1865 Society of St. John the Evangelist. Cowley St. John, Oxford.
1865 Community of the Mission Sisters of the Holy Name of Jesus. Malvern Link.
1866 Sisters of Bethany. Lloyd Square, Pentonville, W. C.
1867. Sisters of Charity. Knowle, Bristol.
1869 Community of Reparation. Green St., Southwark.
1870 Sisters of the Church. Randolph Gardens, Kilburn, N. W.
1879 St. Katherine's Sisterhood. Normand House, Fulham, S. W.
1879 Community of St. Lawrence. Belper.
1883 Community of the Epiphany. Truro.

1891 Society of the Sacred Mission. Kelham, Newark-on-Trent.

1892 Community of the Resurrection. Mirfield.

1894 Sisterhood of the Ascension. 21 Seymour St., Portman Sq. W.

1894 Society of the Incarnation. Saltley, Birmingham.

1895 Community of St. Michael and All Angels. Hammersmith.

1896 Community of the Holy Family. Holmhurst, Baldslow, St. Leonards-on-Sea.

1897 Congregation of the Servants of Christ. Pleshey, Chelmsford.

1899 Society of the Divine Compassion. Stanford le Hope, Essex.

Other existing communities whose dates of origin are not known to the writer are:

Nursing Sisters of St. John the Divine. 21 Drayton Gardens, South Kensington.

Sisters of Our Lady of Nazareth. Dover.

Sisters of the Holy Cross. Hayward's Heath.

—Gilg, "Die Renaissance des Klosterwesens in der anglikanischen Kirche." im *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift*. 3 Jahrgang, 1913, pp. 371-2.

Cf. Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1916.

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VITA

Ralph Washington Sockman was born October 1, 1889, in Mt. Vernon, Ohio. After graduating from the Fredericktown (Ohio) High School in 1906, he taught one year in the public schools of Knox County, Ohio. He entered Ohio Wesleyan University in 1907, receiving the degree of B.A. in 1911. From 1911 to 1913 he was secretary of the Intercollegiate Y. M. C. A. in New York City and also a student in the School of Political Science at Columbia University, in which department he received the Master of Arts degree in 1913. He graduated from Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y., in 1916 after completing three years of study, during which he was a candidate for the doctorate of philosophy at Columbia University. In February, 1917, he was called to the pastorate of the Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City, which position he now holds.

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